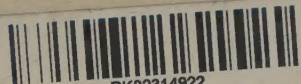


# EVERYMAN'S HISTORY OF THE PRAYER BOOK

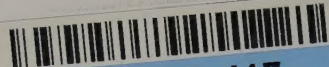


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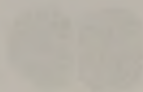
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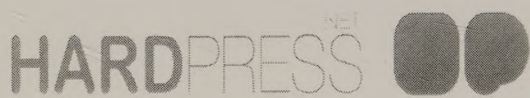


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EVERYMAN'S HISTORY  
OF  
THE PRAYER BOOK

By  
Percy Dearmer, D.D.

With 25 Illustrations

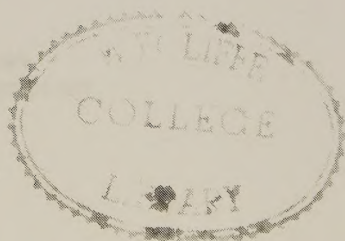


THE  
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EVERYMAN'S HISTORY  
OF  
THE PRAYER BOOK

By  
Percy Dearmer, D.D.

*With 99 Illustrations*



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## PREFACE

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THIS little book cannot claim to be either "high-church" or low-church." It is written in the belief that both those party terms are becoming obsolete, and that the Churchman of the future will be content to be a faithful Christian, and an honest man, thinking highly of the Church and lowly of himself. The writer hopes, however, that it will be found to have a certain breadth, since one cannot have a real Catholicism without catholicity; and if there is a word in it which is not Evangelical, he would wish it withdrawn by this preface. He has kept in mind, throughout, the friendly cheer which comes to us in these happier days from our separated fellow-countrymen on the one side and from the Orthodox Churches of the East on the other; nor has he been forgetful of the debt we owe both to the Roman Church of earlier days, which sent the Gospel to our Western Islands, and with it the service-books from which our own is so largely derived, and also to the Lutheran and other Reformers, who won for us some part of our Christian freedom. "Excellent courage our fathers bore." Only to those on each side he would plead that, if anything in these pages displeases them, they should remember the other side. *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* is



written for Everyman; and, after all, the Master whom we are each trying to follow is above all our divisions, rebuking our uncharities, and blessing every step we take along that Gospel way which is narrow to us only because we come so far short of God's infinite breadth.

*Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* is for Everyman, endeavouring to present that amount of matter which Everyman ought to know something about. The author has already written a very small introduction to the subject, called *The Prayer Book, What it is*, and he has avoided repeating from that little work more than seemed necessary, so that it may be taken, with one or two pamphlets, as a manner of appendix, completing what he has tried to say.

Here are some of the more recent books on the subject:—F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Macmillan, 12s. 6d.); L. Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Longmans, 5s.); B. Reynolds, *Handbook to the Book of Common Prayer* (Rivingtons, 4s. 6d.); P. Jackson, *The Prayer Book Explained* (Cambridge University Press, 2 Parts, 2s. 6d. each); A. W. Robinson, *The Church Catechism Explained* (Cambridge, 2s. 6d.); H. O. Wakeman, *Short History of the Church of England* (Rivingtons, 7s. 6d.); and a little manual by Dr. Moule, Bishop of Durham, *The Story of the Prayer Book* (Longmans). The First and Second Prayer Books have been recently published again as a volume in "Everyman's Library" (Dent, 1s.). For further liturgical study the reader is recommended to go first to the works of Bishop Dowden, Brightman, Duchesne, and Frere, and



to the publications of the Alcuin Club and the Henry Bradshaw Society.

To her Majesty Queen Alexandra the writer offers humble and loyal thanks for the permission so graciously given to print a reproduction of Professor Tuxen's picture of a beautiful incident in her Majesty's Coronation.

The writer owes much gratitude to the friends who have helped him in his work, especially to Mr. F. C. Eeles, Dr. Frere, and Mr. Brightman. He is also much indebted to those who have helped in providing pictures, to whom acknowledgements are given in the List of Illustrations.



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PART I

*THE MATERIAL OF PUBLIC  
WORSHIP*



## CHAPTER 1

### *THE BIBLE IN THE PRAYER BOOK*

THERE are two books in the English language which stand out pre-eminent above all others, which are better known and greater even than the works of our greatest poets. They are the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. We may, indeed, regard the Bible as within the Prayer Book ; since the Prayer Book, in its Table of Lessons, arranges for the Bible to be read through, day by day, once in the year, and thus a Bible is as necessary for the conduct of Divine Service as a Prayer Book. Moreover, the Prayer Book itself contains the whole Psalter (taken, not from the Authorized Version of 1611, but from the Great Bible of 1540), as well as that ancient collection from the greatest passages of the New Testament (with a few from the Old) called the Epistles and Gospels for the Communion Service.

The theology also and the thought of the Prayer Book are everywhere in the closest conformity with the teaching of the New Testament ; and the second preface, "Concerning the Service of the Church" (which was the original preface to the First English Prayer Book), bases the whole Reformation, so far as the Divine Service was concerned, upon the need of daily Bible reading in the mother tongue at "the Common Prayers in the



## 4 THE BIBLE IN THE PRAYER BOOK

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Church.” This, the preface says, was the method of the ancient Fathers, who so ordered the matter that—

“all the whole Bible, (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once every year ; intending thereby, that the Clergy, and especially such as were



RANWORTH CHURCH, NORFOLK.

(A village church, unspoilt, and truly restored, with a famous late-Gothic screen.)

Ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading, and meditation in God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth ; and further, that

the people (by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be more inflamed with the love of his true religion.”

Thus the Divine Service of the English Church, and of all the other Anglican Churches now in communion with her, is based upon the need of daily Bible-reading in the house of God. Those who only go to church on Sundays hear, it is true, a good deal of the Scriptures in the Lessons and Psalms, the Epistles and Gospels ; but they do not hear the Bible as a whole, and therefore they do not carry out this great principle of the English Reformation as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer.

Our Book, then, is an instrument of the Bible, and, as it were, a framework to the Bible, carrying with itself the whole Scriptures into the service of the Church. Thus the Bible is given a place supreme, as the sacred library of the Christian revelation. It is the greatest book in the world ; but next to it, among English books, the English-speaking nations of the world would place the Book of Common Prayer. That is to say, we have in all the churches and chapels of the Anglican Communion<sup>1</sup>—from New Zealand to the Himalaya, from Alaska to the Cape of Good Hope—the two

<sup>1</sup> Here, for the sake of clearness, in the first and last footnote of this book, let me say that the terms “Anglican Church” and “Anglican Communion” are comprehensive terms, describing the mother Church of England and all the other Churches, such as the Episcopal Churches of Scotland and America, which are in communion with her. A list of these Anglican Churches is given on p. 23.

## 6 THE BIBLE IN THE PRAYER BOOK

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greatest books of the English language in common daily use.

Yet, in its very ordering of the Bible the Prayer Book protects us against that unintelligent jumbling together of the Old and New Testaments which has caused so many people to doubt the Christian revelation altogether. By our

use of the Bible in Church we are reminded every day that it is a collection of books, some of which have a higher value than others, while the New Testament holds a position markedly different from that of the Old. Certain parts of the Old Testament are frankly put aside as not suitable for Church reading at all, while the sublimest

passages are read twice, thrice, or even four times a year, and the Psalms are said or sung twelve times. Again, whereas the Old Testament as a whole is read through once a year, the New Testament is read twice; and in the highest of the Christian services, the Holy Communion, the New Testament is read almost exclusively. Nor is there wanting even here an important distinction: the most precious



OLD CHAINED BIBLE AT CUMNOR.

(See p. 56.)

part of the whole Bible, the record of our Lord's deeds and sayings in the four Gospels, is marked (in accordance with very ancient custom) by special ceremonial, and all the people stand ; whereas, when the letters of the Apostles are read in the Epistle for the day, the people sit.



## CHAPTER 2

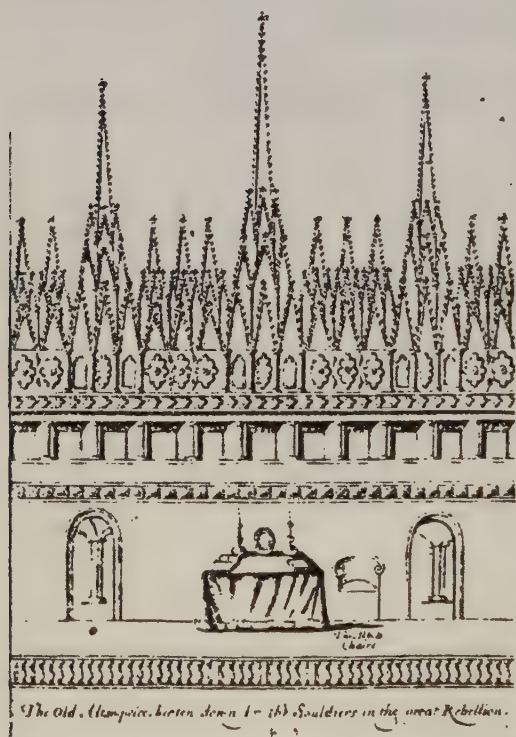
### *THE QUESTION OF SET FORMS OF PRAYER*

THIS noble liturgical heritage has not come down to us without many struggles. Nowadays, though there are still parties and prejudices in the Christian Church, yet Churchmen of all parties agree in their devotion to the Book of Common Prayer—even those who neglect to carry out many of its directions ; and our Nonconformist brothers also, though some of the old misunderstandings between us still remain, do in great measure regard the Prayer Book as a heritage which they possess in common with us. We are glad that it should be so ; we are glad to see that they use it more and more, so that their services are permeated with its noble phrases, while in some of their churches the appointed forms of worship are almost indistinguishable from our own.

But it was not always so. A movement arose in the 16th century, which threatened the very existence of liturgical services, and which indeed triumphed during those fifteen years of Cromwellian absolutism, when Parliament was silenced and England governed by a military dictatorship. The use of the Prayer Book was forbidden by law from 1645 till the Restoration in 1660, and its place was taken by

the Directory for Public Worship, which gave only general directions as to what the minister was to do. The opposition to ordered forms of liturgical wor-

ship grew in intensity, and the time came when the Presbyterians of Scotland (who had at first used the Genevan "Book of Common Order") would not even say the Lord's Prayer, because it was a set form. During the last half-century Scottish Presbyterians have been successfully reviving the use of liturgical services; but none the less there are still many people all over the world who prefer extemporary prayer.



BEFORE THE PRAYER BOOK WAS PUT DOWN.

(The altar and screen of Peterborough Cathedral, destroyed by the Puritan soldiers in 1634.)

selves at the outset, Is liturgical worship a good thing, or ought the minister to make up his own prayers?

Now, there is very much to be said for extemporaneous worship in church; it is often a most useful instrument in mission work, it is an indispensable way of bringing the idea of worship to the ignorant,

It is worth while, therefore, asking our-



it secures the necessary element of freedom ; furthermore, it may bring spontaneity and vitality into a service, and be a good corrective to formalism—indeed, when I have heard our Church Service droned through in some church, without devotion, care, or love (as is still, alas! sometimes the case), I have wished that the Bishop could abolish all set forms of worship in that church for a month or two, until priest and people woke up to their privileges.

Nor is there anything alien to Church ways or wrong in principle about extempore services. Indeed in the earliest days of the Church the celebrant at the Eucharist used to pray thus. The service went on certain general lines, but the “president” filled it in according to his own ideas, and offered up “prayers and thanksgivings with all his strength,” the people saying “Amen” (as is told on p. 185). It was only by degrees that the prayers thus offered became fixed. Those, therefore, who argue that everything which was not done in the first two or three centuries must therefore be wrong, should logically include liturgical worship among the things they condemn. But perhaps sensible people in the 20th century no longer argue thus.

We can perhaps realize best the objections to regular extemporaneous worship if we quote the greatest English defender of it, John Milton. Ah! if only



A BISHOP OF THE  
EARLY CHURCH.

he had been on the other side, what matchless collects he might have added to the Prayer Book at the Restoration! Now Milton objected to a liturgy because he thought it a slur upon the extemporary powers of the minister: "Well may men of eminent gifts," he wrote, "set forth as many forms and helps to prayer as they please; but to impose them on ministers lawfully called and sufficiently tried . . . is a supercilious tyranny, impropriating the Spirit of God to themselves." On which Professor Raleigh dryly comments: "Milton, we know, did not habitually attend public worship at any of the conventicles of the sectaries, or perhaps he might have found reason to modify this censure."

Milton's mistake, was, in fact, a very simple one. He thought that every minister would be a Milton. He did not realize what a deadly thing average custom can be, what a deadly bore an average man can make of himself when compelled to do continually a thing for which he has no natural gift. He did not foresee the insidious danger of unreality and cant. We should all, of course, flock to hear Milton praying extempore, if he were to come to life again; but there are many mute, inglorious ministers whom we would rather not hear.

To put the prayers as well as the sermon in the hands of the officiating minister is indeed a form of sacerdotalism which the Church most wisely rejected many centuries ago. We know what a joy and help it would be to hear an inspired saint, with a genius for rapid prose composition, make up prayers as he went along; and opportunities for extemporization do exist

outside the appointed services. But the Church has to provide for the average man, and has to guard against that form of clerical absolutism which would put a congregation at the mercy of the idiosyncrasies and shortcomings of one person. For extempore services, which should be a safeguard for freedom, can easily degenerate into a tyranny.

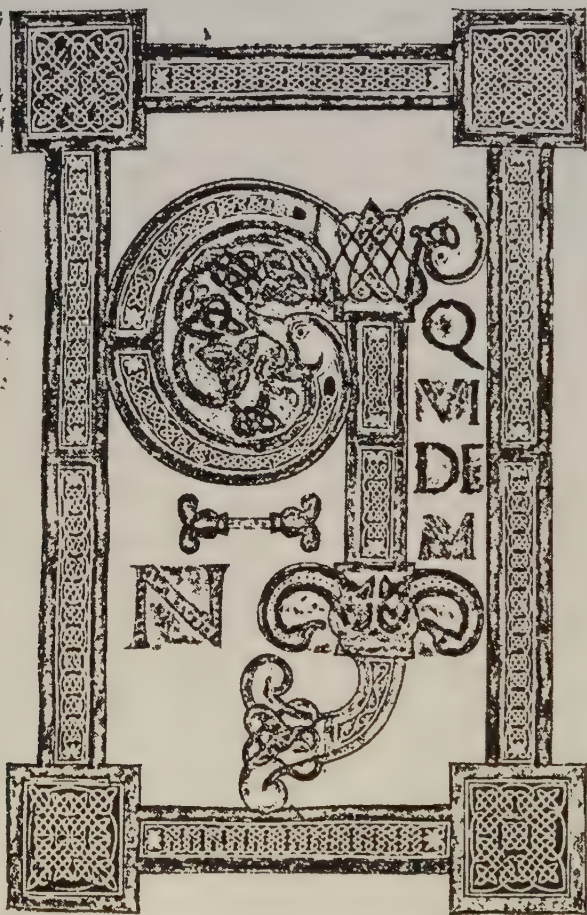
There is, let it be admitted, a certain loss in always having very familiar prayers; and if there has been formalism in extempore prayer, there has too often been an even worse formalism in the use of the Prayer Book. Indeed it is no mere paradox to say that the service least in danger of formalism is that which has many outward forms; for history and a wide knowledge of Christendom show us that good ceremonies are a great preservative against Pharisaism. The reason for this is that action, music, colour, form, sight, scent, and sound appeal more freely to the individual worshipper, and more subtly, relieving the pressure of a rigid phraseology, and allowing the spirit many ways of rising up to God, unhampered by the accent of the workaday voice of man. It is only thus that the wonderful intensity of devotion among the Russian people, for instance, can be accounted for: we have no popular religious affection in the West which can compare with the evangelical spirit of this hundred million of Christians, who yet have used nothing but their very ancient forms of prayer during the thousand years since their race was first converted.

Thus, while we must secure the treasure of comprehensiveness by having a place both for spontaneous prayer and for those quiet meetings of silence which



have given such a wonderful strength to Quakerism, we may be confident that liturgical worship is the best of all.

There is some loss in the use of printed words; but there is a greater gain. We have in them the accumulated wisdom and beauty of the Christian Church, the garnered excellence of the saints. We are by them released from the accidents of time and place. Above all, we are preserved against the worst dangers of



THE BEGINNING OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.  
(9th century.)

selfishness: in the common prayer we join together in a great fellowship that is as wide as the world; and we are guided, not by the limited notions of our

own priest, nor by the narrow impulses of our own desires, but by the mighty voice that rises from the general heart of Christendom.

Our Lord had the ancient forms of the Church in which he lived often on his lips, and in the moment of his supreme agony it was a liturgical sentence, a fragment of the familiar service, that was wrung from him—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" We have a richer heritage, for it is a heritage dowered by his Spirit; and from our treasure-house come things new and old. Now we love the old; yet will we not forget the new. We will try to avoid the danger, so common still among us, of being only able to pray by the book; remembering that there is a place and a real use for extemporary prayer, and a still greater use for the silent prayer which is above words altogether. These very things will keep fresh and sweet for us those old set forms, in which we can join so well because we know beforehand what they are about, and in which for the same reason all the people can come together in the fellowship of common prayer.

## CHAPTER 3

### *THE CONTENTS OF THE PRAYER BOOK*

NOW that we have pointed out how the Bible is as much a service book of the Anglican Churches as the Book of Common Prayer, and have explained why it is a good thing to have printed forms of worship, we are ready to look at the Prayer Book as a whole. What *is* the Prayer Book ?

We naturally turn to the Title-page and the Prefaces for our answer. Now the Title-page is a full and descriptive one ; and at the very outset it removes a common mistake. It makes no mention of the Thirty-nine Articles ; for they form no part of the Prayer Book. They are bound up with it, just as hymn-books often are ; but it is a mistake of the printing authorities to compel us to buy the Articles whenever we buy the Prayer Book ; and it gives Church folk the impression that the Articles are binding on them, which is not the case—for a layman is perfectly free to disagree with the Articles, if he chooses. They are admirable in many ways, comprehensive and moderate, though written in an age of bitter controversy ; but it would be absurd to suppose that they could not be improved after the discoveries and experience of three and a half centuries. Nothing has been done to improve them. The needs of



modern thought have indeed been partly met by altering the terms in which the clergy (and they alone) have to give their assent; but this does not help the average Briton, who, moreover, is without the assistance of the learned commentaries which alone can prevent serious misunderstandings; while in other countries, both East and West, the presence of the Thirty-nine Articles in the Prayer Book continues to do grave harm by giving to other Churches a false idea of the Anglican theology.

The Title-page, then, in the first place reminds us that certain familiar things are only appendixes added to the Prayer Book—the State Services, the Articles, the Table of Kindred and Affinity, not to mention the Canons of 1603, and the Metrical Psalms which used to be bound up with the Prayer Book until our modern hymn-books drove them out of use. The Prayer Book ends with the Form for the Consecration of Bishops; and nothing ought to be added to it but the Accession Service, and any other services which may in the future have proper authority to be “printed and published and annexed to the Book of Common Prayer and Liturgy of the Church of England.”

To pass from the negative teaching of the Title-page, we find that it describes the Prayer Book as consisting of five parts—we may indeed rightly call them five books :—

- (1) *The Book of Common Prayer*
- (2) *And Administration of the Sacraments,*
- (3) *And other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*  
according to the use of the Church of  
England

- (4) *Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David*  
pointed as they are to be sung or said in  
Churches
- (5) *And the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and*  
*Consecrating* of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

A truly admirable description ! What a mass of ignorance would be removed if only people knew the Title-page of the Prayer Book ! The notion, for instance, that "Priests" are a Roman Catholic institution, and the still common impression on the Continent of Europe that the Anglican Church at the Reformation gave up the priesthood and is indifferent to Catholic order : the common idea, too, that "Sacramentalism" is a "high-church" idea foisted on to the Protestantism of England : or the notion that our proper use should be the Genevan Use, or the Roman Use, instead of that English Use which the Title-page orders. Certainly many widespread mistakes would never have come into existence had people but read the words that stare us in the face on this Title-page.

The Prayer Book, then, consists of five books containing twenty-eight parts, if we use the numbers of the Contents as they are now printed, thus :—

*Book I.* THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The "Common Prayer" is the name for those services which are conducted in the choir, (10) *Morning Prayer* and (11) *Evening Prayer*, which are therefore called choir services. There were formerly eight such services (see p. 150), and together they are called the Divine Service. Common Prayer also includes (13) *The Litany*, which is a service of Intercession after Morning Prayer, preparatory to the Holy Communion.

# The Contents of this Book

- 1 An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer
- 2 The Preface
- 3 ~~Concluding~~ Concerning the service of the Church.
- 4 ~~Concluding~~ Concerning the service
- 5 The Order how the Minister is appointed to be read
- 6 The Order how the rest of the holy Scriptures are to be read
- 7 A Table of prayer Lessons and Psalms
- 8 Collects and Prayers for the People, and Collects throughout the whole year.
- 9 The Kalender with the Table of Lessons
- 10 The Order for Morning Prayer
- 11 The Order for Evening Prayer
- 12 The Creed of St Athanasius
- 13 The Litany
- 14 Prayers and Thanksgiving upon several occasions
- 15 The Order for Baptism, and the Order for the Communion of the holy Communion throughout the year
- 16 The Order of the Visitation of the holy Communion
- 17 The Order of Baptism, both publick and private
- 18 The Order of Baptism for those of any age
- 19 The Catechism with the Order for Confession, and the Order for Penance
- 20 Matrimony
- 21 Visitation of the Sick and Communion of the Sick
- 22 The Ordinal
- 23 Thanksgiving for women after child-bearing
- 24 Of Communion or Denying of the Sacrament, and Judgement against Simony
- 25 The Psalter
- 26 The Order of Prayers to be said at Sea
- 27 Of form and manner of ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons

## CONTENTS-PAGE OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

From the "Book Annexed" to the Act of Uniformity, 1562. (In the MS. original, subscribed by Convocation, Dec. 23, 1561, from which the present Book was printed. The numbers have since been changed by the printer. The words "The Order for Confirmation of children" have been altered to "The Order of Confirmation," and printed under a separate number.)

*Book 2.* ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

(16) *Holy Communion* at the *holy Table* or altar, and (17, 18) *Baptism*, at the *font*. In these Sacraments—outward signs bringing an inward grace—something is *done* : at the altar Christians are fed with the spiritual Body of their Master ; at the font non-Christians are admitted into the Catholic or Universal Church. There are other outward signs in which something is done, as Confirmation, Matrimony, and Orders (the Ordination of Ministers) ; but there was much disputing at the time when the Prayer Book was produced as to the number of the Sacraments, and the English Church therefore contented herself with laying stress on the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptism and Holy Communion, leaving the “five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction,” in a separate category. There can be little doubt that this was the wisest way of settling an unhappy dispute ; and it leaves us free either to include the “lesser Sacraments,” as they are sometimes called, under this head or to class some or all of them among the other Rites of the Church. (See pp. 45, 47.)

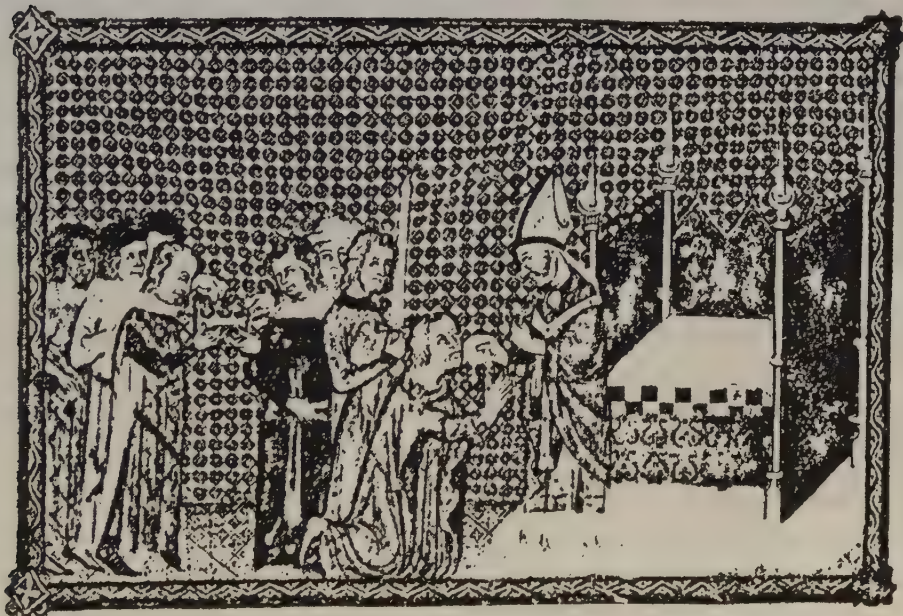
Between these two books of Common Prayer and of the Sacraments there are printed, besides the Litany :—(12) for use “At Morning Prayer,” the Confession of Faith “commonly [but inaccurately] called the *Creed of Saint Athanasius*” ; (14) The “*Prayers and Thanksgivings* upon several occasions,” which are used both in the Divine Service and in the Litany, and therefore are conveniently printed here ; (15) “*The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels* to be used at the Ministration of the holy Communion, throughout the year,” as they are



## 20 THE CONTENTS OF THE PRAYER BOOK

described in the Table of Contents ; the Collects, however, are used also at Mattins and Evensong.

*Book 3.* OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH. It will be noticed that both the Gospel Sacraments and the "other" Rites, are described as "of the Church," services, that is to say, not of the Anglican Communion only, but of the whole Church ;



THE COMMUNION AT A CORONATION, 1365.

The King kneels to receive the Eucharist from the Archbishop, who holds a pyx in his left hand. The crown is held by two courtiers.

though their ritual (i.e. the manner of *saying*) and their ceremonial (i.e. the manner of *doing*) are according to the English Use. Furthermore, the Title-page does not say "All other Rites" ; there are some which are not in the Prayer Book (pp. 47-52), such as the Coronation Service, or the Form for the Consecration of a Church, which are used under episcopal sanction.

These Rites consist of certain of the "five commonly called Sacraments," namely (20) *Confirmation*, to which is prefixed (19) the *Catechism*, which is the preparation for Confirmation, and was only separated from it at the last Revision; (21) the *Solemnization of Matrimony*; and (22) the *Visitation and Communion of the Sick*. Those who, like our brethren of the Eastern Orthodox Church to-day, look for seven Sacraments, will find on p. 45 how two of the lesser Sacraments come under this head, while the seventh is given in Book 5, the Ordinal.

Then follow other Rites, (23) the Order for the *Burial of the Dead*, (24) the Churching, or *Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth*, and (25) the Ash Wednesday service called *A Commination*.

*Book 4. THE PSALTER.* The complete Book of the Psalms (26) which form the most essential part of Mattins and Evensong; they are arranged to be "read through once every month," by grouping them under Morning and Evening Prayer for thirty days.

At the last Revision (1661) two sets of services were added—the *Order of Baptism for those of Riper Years* (18), and the *Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea* (27). The latter were inserted after the Psalter: it was doubtless felt that these sea services could not in the main be classed under "Other Rites," and would be too prominent if printed after Mattins and Evensong. None the less their present position is a strange one, since they cannot be classed under Book 4 or Book 5. It would be better, perhaps, if they were printed among the Appendixes at the end.

*Book 5. THE ORDINAL* (28) consists of three services, which were originally printed as a separate book,



## 22 THE CONTENTS OF THE PRAYER BOOK

and published after the First Prayer Book was issued. These still have a Title-page (or half-page) of their own, in which they are described with definiteness and solemnity as "*The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons according to the Order of the Church of England.*"

### OTHER ANGLICAN PRAYER BOOKS

We have been considering the Title-page and Contents of the Book of Common Prayer according to the



AN ENGLISH BISHOP.

(The late Dr. Sheepshanks. Bishop of Norwich, in the cope worn by the Bishop of Norwich at the Coronation of King Edward VII and King George V.)

Use of the Church of England : but there are eleven other Churches (not counting the missionary dioceses, between thirty and forty in number) in communion with the Church of England ; and, of these, four have Prayer Books of their own. These twelve Churches of the Anglican Communion are as follows :—

1. \*The English Church.
2. \*The Irish Church.
3. \*The Scottish Church.
4. \*The American Church.
5. \*The Canadian Church.
6. The Australian Church.
7. The Indian Church.
8. The South African Church.
9. The New Zealand Church.
10. The West Indian Church.
11. The Japanese Church (Nippon Sei Kokwai).
12. The Chinese Church.

These twelve Churches, like the Greek, Russian, and other Orthodox Churches of the East, together form one Communion ; but, like the Eastern Churches, they are self-governing, and each has the inherent power to make its own Prayer Book, though the position of some has not yet been fully regularised in a legal sense. At present, the last eight of these Churches use the Church of England Prayer Book ; but the first four have each a service book of its own. The Prayer Book of the Church of Ireland (1877) is but slightly different from ours : but the Scottish Episcopal Church has a very beautiful Communion Service, called the Scottish Liturgy (1637), which is more like that of the First Prayer Book than our own. The Anglican Church in America has

its own form of the Prayer Book (1789), with a Communion Service partly adapted from the Scottish, and with many less important variations: the last revision of the American Prayer Book was in 1892. Recently, in 1912, the Scottish Episcopal Church has issued a new Prayer Book, consisting of the Church of England Book together with the Scottish Liturgy, many excellent additional Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, with other "Additions and Deviations."

Thus there is in the world a family of four Anglican Service Books, besides the old translations of the English Prayer Book in Latin, French, Welsh, Gaelic (1551-1608), and the later translations in other languages, such as Tamil, Kafir, Yoruba, Amharic, Cree, Mohawk, Canarese, and Zimshi! In the Russian and other Slav Churches also, other languages are used besides the Old Slavonic of the normal Russian Service-books. There are three great liturgical families in Christendom, and some minor families, which may be arranged as follows:—

## I. EASTERN

1. BYZANTINE (a. *Greek*, and b. *Slavonic*, which is used in the Russian and other Slav Churches; c. *Armenian*).
2. WEST SYRIAN; 3. EGYPTIAN; 4. EAST SYRIAN.

## II. LATIN

5. ROMAN (a. *Roman*; b. *Monastic* [Benedictine], *Cistercian*, *Carthusian*, *Dominican*); 6. GALRICAN (surviving in the *Mozarabic* rite, partly also in the *Ambrosian*, with traces at Lyons).

## THE ANGLICAN BOOKS

### III. ANGLICAN

7. ANGLICAN (a. *La, lē, lē*; b. *lō, lō*; c. *lō, lō*; d. *lō, lō*; e. *lō, lō*).

All these are families of books in use to-day; but 2, 3, 4, and 6 have a very small number of people; and the only one in the Catholic Church is the one in the Roman, Slavonic, Anglican, and Greek.

## CHAPTER 4

### *THE DEVELOPMENT OF SERVICE BOOKS*

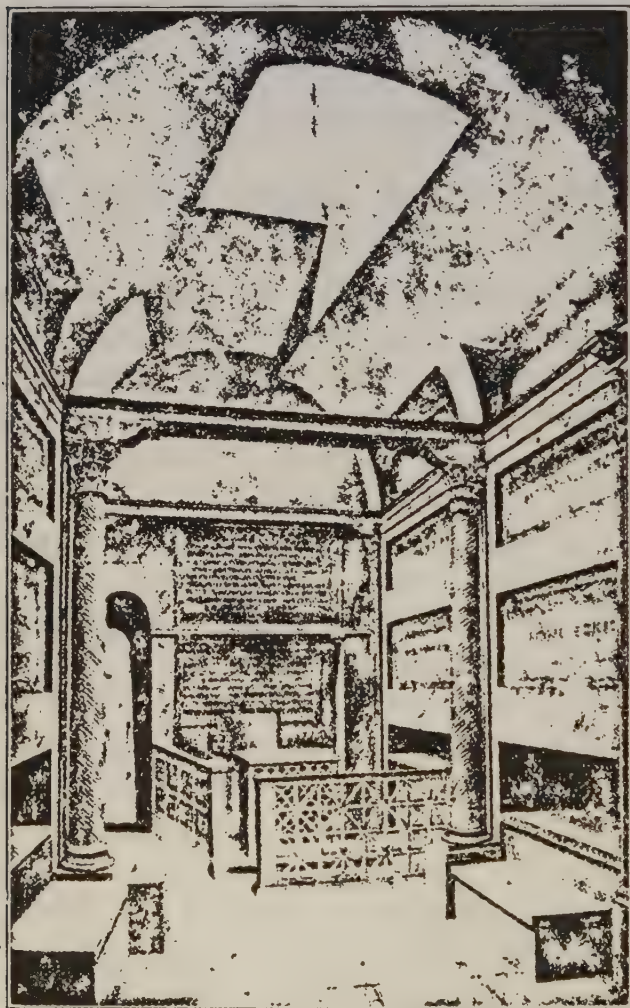
IT will be most convenient to trace the earlier history of our Church services when we come to deal with them separately, in the Third Part of this book ; in this chapter, therefore, and those which immediately follow, we will confine ourselves to the history of the Prayer Book itself as one whole book.

Services were in the Primitive Church unfixed in character, as we have seen, and largely extemporary. When the words became fixed, the services gradually came to be written out in separate manuscripts. None of the very earliest books (so far as we yet know) have survived ; for one thing, as must always be remembered, the last great Persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Diocletian (303) included a systematic destruction of Christian literature ; but an early book by Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, in Egypt (p. 188), of about the year 350, was discovered at Mount Athos in 1894, and it is quite possible that scholars may discover something yet earlier. Little service books, or liturgical notes, may have been written in the 2nd century, or even in the time of the Apostles ; for it is probable that there were some fixed formulas in the earliest services, and sentences which look like quotations



of these exist in the *Epistle of St. Clement* (c. A.D. 96), and in the 2nd century *Didaché*. A baptismal creed is given

in Acts viii. 37, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God": it is only in some of the texts, and may also belong to the 2nd century. Many scholars think that some verses from St. Paul are really liturgical formulas, e.g. "Wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (*Eph.* v. 14); and, "He who was manifested in the flesh,



CHAPEL IN THE CATACOMB OF CALLISTUS.

(Restored as it was in the 4th century.)

justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into

glory" (1 *Tim.* iii. 16), which latter looks very like a quotation from what came to be called the Anaphora or Canon of the Eucharist, and may have been part of the words which St. Paul used himself when he celebrated, just as "The grace of our Lord," in 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14, was perhaps a form of blessing which he was in the habit of using.

Certainly there are fragments of Christian hymns scattered over the Apocalypse, and perhaps in other parts of the New Testament. The reader will find it interesting to look these out for himself—*Rev.* iv. 8–11, v. 9, 10, 12, 13, vii. 12, xi. 17, xii. 10–12, xv. 3–4, xix. 1, 6–7, 2 *Tim.* ii. 11–13; and, besides *Eph.* v. 14, perhaps i. 3–14, and the prayer in *Acts* iv. 24–30. There are also the great Canticles given us by St. Luke in the first two chapters of his Gospel—*Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, and *Nunc Dimittis*.

We find, in fact, many elements of Christian worship in the New Testament—(1) *Praise*, as in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 26, and in these canticles and hymns; (2) *Prayer*, as in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 14–16, and of course in many other places; (3) *Lessons*, as the reading of Epistles in 1 *Thess.* v. 27 and *Col.* iv. 16, and doubtless also the reading of "memoirs" of Christ as well as of books of the Old Testament; (4) *Sermons*, as in *Acts* xx. 7, 1 *Tim.* iv. 13; (5) *Prophecy*, probably resembling the utterances and prayers which break the silence of a Quakers' meeting (or of those "quiet meetings" which are now happily being revived in the Church of England), as it is mentioned in 1 *Cor.* xiv. 1, 29, 1 *Thess.* v. 20, and in 1 *Cor.* xi. 4, where we learn that women took part in the praying and prophesying, because St. Paul rebuked

some for doing this unveiled. This passage is interesting because it shows that the Apostle's injunction, "Let your women keep silence in the churches" (1 Cor. xiv. 34), did not mean that they were not to take any part in the service, but referred to a habit which had grown up amongst the women, of chattering during service time: the men, it seems from the context, interrupted by babbling with "tongues," or by all prophesying at once, and then the women increased the confusion by asking questions about what they meant—which is not to be wondered at; (6) *Tongues*, which we see by 1 Cor. xiv. 23-39, were already becoming somewhat of a babel, and



S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN, ROME.

(Showing the presbytery and choir of a typical basilica.)

are unfavourably compared by St. Paul with Prophecy; (7) *Almsgiving*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. ix. 1-15; (8) *The Agapé* (see p. 178), called by St. Paul a dominical supper, or Lord's supper, *kyriakon deipnon*, in 1 Cor. xi. 20-22; (9) *Uction*, in Jas. v. 14, besides *Exorcism* (*Acts* xvi. 18) and the manifold ministry of healing. All these elements are in addition to or contained within the central Rites (to be

are unfavourably compared by St. Paul with Prophecy; (7) *Almsgiving*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. ix. 1-15; (8) *The Agapé* (see p. 178), called by St. Paul a dominical supper, or Lord's supper, *kyri-*



dealt with in our concluding chapters) of (I) *Baptism*, (II) the *Laying on of Hands* (after Baptism); (III) the *Breaking of the Bread*, (IV) the *Laying on of Hands* for consecration to the Ministry, as well as (V) the *daily worship* at home, or at first in the Temple, or the gathering for prayer and exhortation in the synagogues.

After the Apostolic Age, we find the Eucharist described in Pliny's Letter (c. 112), in St. Justin Martyr (c. 148), in Tertullian (c. 200), and other early writers (Chapter 14); but it is not till the Canons of Hippolytus (probably not later than 250) that directions and formulas are given; and the earliest real service-book we have is that of Serapion (c. 350), which we have already mentioned. This precious document is a "Sacramentary"—that is to say, it contains the celebrant's prayers in the Communion Service (p. 189) and other rites.

We have to pass over another century or more before we find any extant books as complete as Serapion's; though we know from other writings that such books did exist. From the 7th century onwards the history of service-books can be traced with ever-increasing clearness. They consisted of three groups, the *Divine Service*, the *Sacraments*, and the *Occasional Services*, these latter including all the services used upon occasions such as Marriage, Ordination, and the Reconciliation of Penitents.

The scribes, however, did not consider so much the grouping of the services as the people who would have to use the books. In those days, when the penning of manuscripts at great labour and expense was the only way of making a service-book, the scribe



naturally would not insert any matter that was not necessary to the minister for whom the book was written. Thus the bishop or priest had his Sacramentary, consisting of the celebrant's part of the Eucharist, but containing also his part for other services, such as Baptism, Marriage, or Ordination. The majority



A GOSPEL-BOOK.

(The four Gospels, 9th century, are bound in a silver cover of the 14th.)

of our Prayer Book collects are from three Old Roman Sacramentaries — the Leonine (6th century), the Gelasian (early 8th century), and the Gregorian (c. 800). The deacon also had his own Gospel-book for the part it was his duty to read, the subdeacon had his Epistle-book, and the singers had musical Choir-books and Psalters for their

use. We have a list of the manuscripts required in England at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period in Archbishop Ælfric's Canons (c. 1006), and for the Norman period in Archbishop Winchelsea's



for the Introit and at other places in the Mass. The Antiphonal or Antiphoner contained the musical parts of the services (originally the Gradual was known as



PAGE FROM AN ANGLO-SAXON PSALTER.

This tinted miniature is an exceptionally fine example of English figure drawing of the 10th century.

the Antiphonarium Missae). The Troper consisted of interpolations into the chant: these additions to the traditional music became very large, but after the twelfth century little except the Sequences (sung after the Gradual and Alleluya, between the Epistle and Gospel) was left of them. The Manual or Handbook contained the Occasional Services. The

bishop's own books are not mentioned here, the "Ordinal" meaning a directory of services.

From the 13th century till the Reformation the use of Salisbury Cathedral was followed in the greater part of England (excluding Hereford which had a use of its own, and parts of the North which followed the York use), and also throughout the mainland of Scotland and in parts of Ireland and Wales. A full list of the books belonging to this widely spread use may be arranged thus :—

DIVINE SERVICE	HOLY COM- MUNION	OCCASIONAL SERVICES
Psalter.	Sacramentary (priest's part).	Pontifical (bish- op's services).
Legend.	Gospel-book.	Manual (priest's).
Antiphonal.	Epistle-book.	Also Pie or Kalendar.
Hymnal.	Gradual.	Also towards end
Collectar.	Troper (Se- quences).	of Middle Ages, Processional.

As the Middle Ages went on, the Breviary services became overladen and corrupt. Always more suited for monastic use than for that of parish churches, they grew more and more unfit for any but the clergy, and even for the clergy they became very burdensome. Although it was considered the duty of the lay folk before the Reformation, not only to be present at Mass on Sundays, but also at Mattins and Evensong, these services, especially Mattins with its many lessons and elaborate structure, must in course of time have ceased to be edifying to the people, who had to be content indeed with their own prayers. Not only did the choir services become overladen and corrupt, but the increasing cult of the saints and the spread of votive or special services caused a great multiplication of masses, which could not all be rendered with the ceremonial dignity traditional in the Church. Already there had grown up what were called Low Masses and Private Masses—that is to say, masses celebrated by a single priest, with only a clerk or



In unio: fō  
nichadis et  
celis do. Langi dūstani.

Quāto  
mīta

Gloria in celis do. tūm a  
mbus cantat  
dicatur vniū  
dispositio ēat. Gloria in et

celis do. Gloria in celis

In omib: alijs tū simpli  
v: tam. u. q. r. l. in quib:  
do. chorū uirg: dī vniū cor: dī  
nī v  
nūit  
tori. Gloria in celis do.

In tū  
m lī hī

Gloria in celis do. ut uirgīe  
chor: + in oī et mī  
quāto chorū nō  
uigūtur dī vniū iōr. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel  
In cōmūandacōe bī  
inane uirgīs portōnī ā  
his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
inane uirgīs portōnī ā  
his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
inane uirgīs portōnī ā  
his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
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his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
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his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
inane uirgīs portōnī ā  
his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

In cōmūandacōe bī  
inane uirgīs portōnī ā  
his do. mī quāto dī. Gloria in  
celis. Gloria in celis. Glia ī  
celis. nī quāto ulīō fīr plē  
mī sēuīr dī rā ante aduātū + āt  
līr + in oīr alīūpīr +  
nīr tātū nīr. nīr  
ā dī līquē ēat rō hī. Gloria

in celis do. Gloria in cel

Et in terra par hominib:  
bonae voluntatis lauda

ns do. mus r. Gaudemus r.

adoramus te. Glorificamus te.

Grans agnus ē ppter magnā

gloriam tuam. Domine hīs

ter altiss mus pī ouīs. Domine

filī vniūmīr tū rē. ē pūs et

almī orphanor: paradiū. Do

mine tū agnus dī filius pīs.

Pūno gūmīs mīrē uirgīs

mīs. Qui tollis potata mīdi

nīlātē uobīs. Qui tollis potā

mīdi sūlāpē tūpīrācōē uīrām.

Ad mīrā gloriā. Qui sēdē ad

īrātā pīs nīlātē uobīs. Qui

mī solus sanctus. nī anā īfīcīs.

Tū solus tōmūmīs. nī anā gū

līmāns. Tū solus altīssimīs.

nī anā cōrūās. īhī xpe nūm

lō spū ī gloriā dī pīs. Amā.

post uirgīcōm. Gloria ī cel

lis do. Quātāt lī sāmōs ad tū

īrām cōmū abīrātē et mīnīstīr nī

et pīrōpīrātēs sūb nīllā rōr.

Et ī tēra. dīacōnīs nī tēmīs et

sūbdīacōnīs nī sūmīs. Tū r

pīrātē dīcāt īn nātūr dīuī ad

omīs nīllās et pīr tūdīnōd +

īndīcāmīnī et īn omīb: mīllīs

īr sāmī mīrā nīllē ad pīr et īn dīr

pīr. + īn dīr cōpōrīs + et pīr oīr

quātō tēat fīr sēmīr et īn cōmīr

īrōz cōmīb: aūstīnī pīr cōmūn

ānīūm. Cōmūmīcātēs. nīllē

ad cōmūnīcātīnī dīcātūr.

Amē. Quia pīr

## PAGE OF AN ILLUMINATED MISSAL.

(Page of a very fine MS. Sarum Missal, 15th century, with music, showing the *Gloria in Excelsis* with interpolations, e.g. "For thou only art holy, sanctifying Mary"; "Thou only art the Lord, ruling Mary.")

even a boy to help him, and with no communicants. These were not only customary in small churches, where often little else was possible ; but they multiplied everywhere, and nowhere more than in the great churches in towns, which became filled with side altars and small chapels, where various foundation masses were said, the stipends of which proved a temptation to the clergy to say as many of them as possible.

Both the paucity of ministers in small churches and the multiplication of services in the larger brought it about that it was more convenient to have the different parts of the service combined in one book than to have them separate. Each set was therefore generally made into one book in the later Middle Ages, thus :—



A LOW MASS.

(The Priest is served by a lad wearing a rochet.  
From a 15th century MS.)

DIVINE SERVICE	HOLY COM- MUNION	OCCASIONAL SERVICES
Breviary.	Missal.	Pontifical. Manual. Processional.

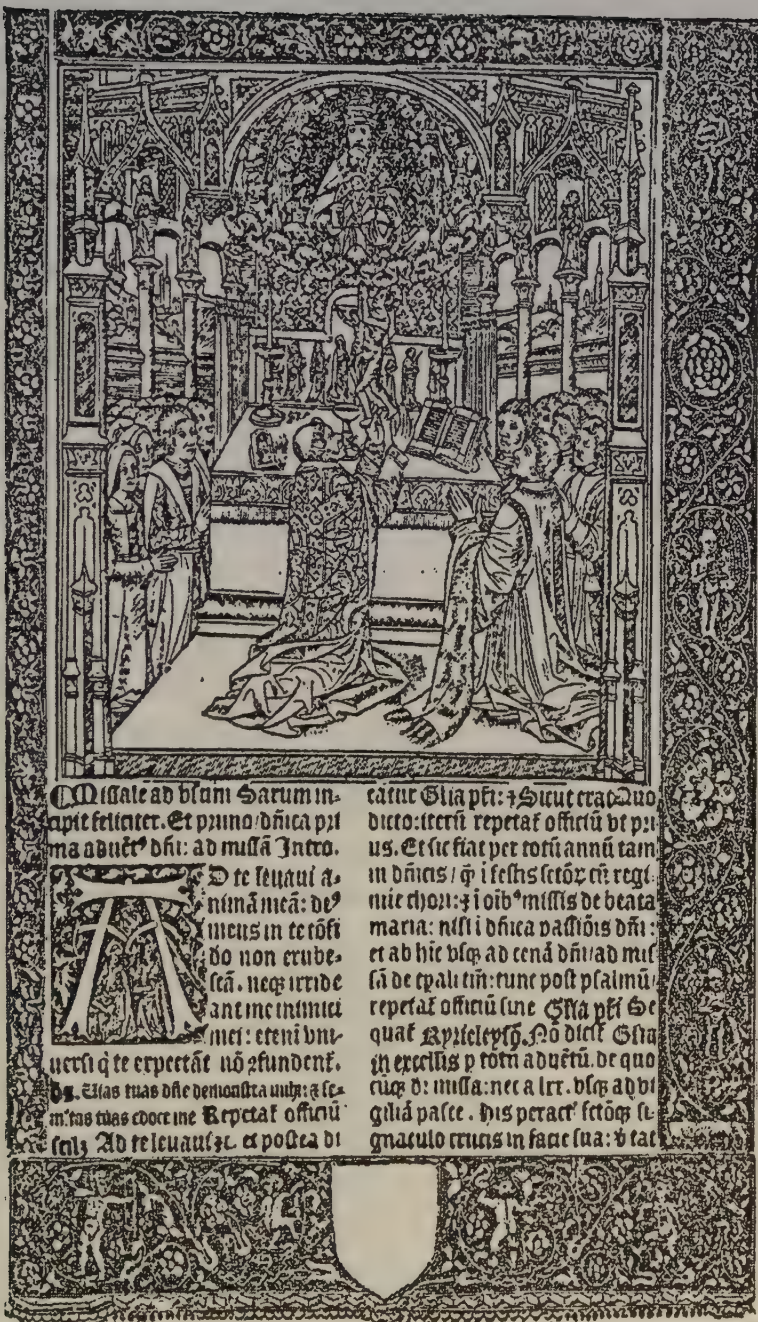
Then came the invention of printing in the middle of the 15th century, which largely removed the original reason for having a number of separate books. There began at once to appear printed Breviaries, Missals, Grails, Antiphoners, Pontificals, Manuals, and Processionals.

Now, one of the results of the English Reformation has been partly to restore the old co-operative method of worship—or, as we say, the congregational method, though it is really more than this. The co-operative method not only gives the congregation its part in the service, but also gives their parts to the gospeller, the epistoler, the preacher, the special chanters or clerks, and the choir, as well as the priest: it makes the service a great united act of worship, and frees it from the evil of sacerdotalism—the “one man” system of religion.

This restoration was not possible till the Reformers set about to render the old Latin services in the mother tongue of the people. Their work was made enormously easier by the invention of printing, which not only created a desire for reform by spreading knowledge, but also made it at last possible for those who could read English to follow the services in their own books.

Printing, then, helped the Reformers; but their work would not have been possible at all in England had it not been for another cause. There was now a language which every one spoke. The former use of Latin had not been merely due to an irrational conservatism—though people are always apt to be irrationally conservative about their prayers and hymns. There





Missale ad blam Sarum in-  
cipit feliciter. Et primo: dñica pri-  
ma aduēt⁹ dñi: ad missā Intro.

**A**d te leuauit a-  
nimā meā: de-  
iucius in te cōfi-  
do non erube-  
scā. neq; irride-  
ant me inimici  
mei: etenim vni-  
uersi q te expectāt nō confundent.  
v. Elas tuas dñe demonstra uirg: a se-  
m: tas tuas edoce me Repetat officiū  
soli: Ad te leuauit: et postea di-

catur Gloria pñ: Sicut erat duo-  
dicto: iterū repetat officiū de pri-  
us. Et sic fiat per totū annū tam  
in dñicis / q̄ i festis sctōr cñ regi-  
niē thori: q̄ i oib⁹ missis de beata  
maria: nisi i dñica passionis dñi:  
et ab hic vsq; ad cenā dñi: ad mis-  
sā de epali tñ: tunc post psalmū  
repetat officiū sine Gloria pñi Se-  
quat Epistola pñi. Ad dñi Gloria  
in excelsis p totū aduētū. de quo  
cūq; d: missa: nec a lxx. vsq; ad vi-  
giliā pasce. his peract⁹ sctōr si-  
gnaculo crucis in facie sua: b tac

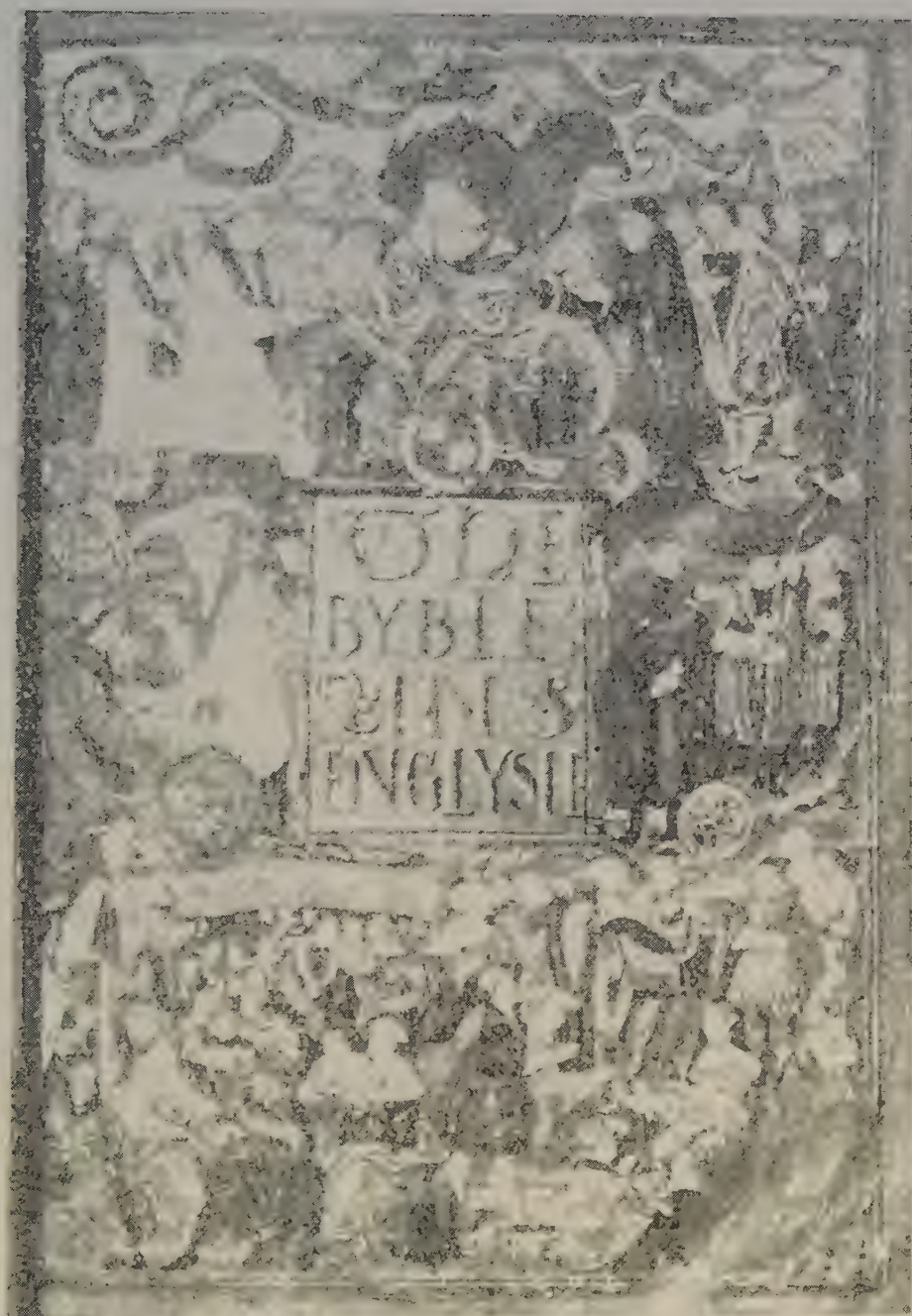
### A PRINTED SARUM MISSAL.

(The beginning of the services, Introit for Advent Sunday. The woodcut shows an altar shortly before the Reformation. The priest is lifting up a figure, representing the soul, before a heavenly vision; this is to illustrate the words of the Introit, "Unto thee will I lift up my soul.")



were better reasons : Latin was the universal language of educated people in Western Europe, and thus there had been much convenience in using it in the former ages when there was no other literary language. In England, for instance, for centuries after the Conquest, French had been the language of the aristocracy and of the law courts (of which we still have traces in such phrases as "Le roi le veult," "Oyez, Oyez"); the common people spoke various English dialects which were almost like different languages, so that a book written in London would have been unintelligible to a Yorkshireman; and therefore it is no wonder that learned people wrote in Latin, which was for them a kind of Esperanto amid the babel of tongues. In the 14th century, however, our language had become more solidified, and Wyclif (†1384) and Chaucer (†1400) were able to produce the first books in the noble library of modern English literature, the former being especially famous for his translation of the Bible—though scholars are now saying that the translation of the Bible is not his work after all.

It was therefore possible at the beginning of the 16th century not only to print the services, but to print them in an English which Englishmen all over the country could understand. Before the middle of that century the Bible had been printed in English, and thus became universally accessible and intelligible; and just before the middle year—in 1549—the First English Prayer Book was printed. It was no longer necessary to have but short extracts from the Bible in Divine Service; for the whole Bible—now a comparatively cheap book—could be used side by side with the Prayer Book; and



THE OLDE BYBLE IN ENGLISHE. THE FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH. 1534. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

THE OLDE BYBLE IN ENGLISHE. THE FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH. 1534. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

these two volumes would supply every one's need. Formerly the lay folk had only been able to follow the services in little simplified books of their own, and even these were an expensive luxury ; but now every one could follow the services word for word, and those who knew their letters could read them in their own books. So the old books that we have described were further condensed into two, the *Bible* and the *Prayer Book*.

Now, if the reader will turn to the second Preface in the English Prayer Book, called “*Concerning the Service of the Church*,” he will find the reasons for the liturgical Reformation set forth in admirable terms, though indeed this preface is concerned with the “Service,” that is with the Divine Service. The main reasons given are six :—

1. Great stress is laid on the need of reading the Bible as a whole in Divine Service each year. This we shall mention again on p. 156.

2. Abuses must be got rid of. The “uncertain Stories, and Legends,” and “vain Repetitions” had crowded out the Bible-reading which had been the “godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers,” so that, after three or four chapters of a book had been read out, all the rest were left unread.

3. The language spoken to the people in the church must be such “as they might understand, and have profit by hearing the same,” as St. Paul had urged.

4. The Psalms must be said properly, as the ancient Fathers had said them ; instead of a few being “daily said, and the rest utterly omitted.”



5. "The number and hardness of the Rules called the *Pie*" must be amended. This *Pie* was a perpetual kalendar, showing what things should be said at all possible services and combination of services. If a parson did not give considerable study to these intricacies before he began his office, he could hardly help going wrong : indeed, as the Preface says, "many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

6. There had been great diversity of uses. The Preface mentions the uses of Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln ; and declares that "now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one Use." The uses of Bangor and Lincoln, we may mention, were, like that of Exeter, little more than variants of Sarum. London also had its own use till 1414, when the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's adopted the Sarum Use, retaining their own ceremonial.

Thus the time was ripe. The English Bible was in people's hands ; many were dissatisfied with the old services both because they had become complicated and burdensome (see p. 156) and because they contained things which are now admitted to have been superstitious and untrue. In the reign of Henry VIII (1533) the Bishops in Convocation proclaimed the freedom of the English Church, by declaring that no foreign bishop (such as the Pope) could have authority over it ; and thus the English Church was placed on the same level of autonomy as the Orthodox Churches of the East. In the reign of Edward VI (1549) the first English Prayer Book was published.





Ergitur elementiss-  
ime pater: per iesum  
christū filium tuum  
dñm nostrū: suppli-  
ces rogamus corpo-  
re inclinato donec dicat. ac petim⁹  
hic erigens se sacerdos oculis tuis  
altare a detritis sacrificiis dicēs. uti  
accepta habeas et benedicas. hic  
faciat sacerdos tres cruces: super  
calicem et panem dicendo. Hec ⁊  
dona. hec ⁊ munera. hec ⁊ sancta  
sacrificia illibata. Facis signacu-  
lus super calicem eleuet manus su-  
as ita dicens.

**I**n primis que tibi offerimus  
per ecclesia tua sancta catho-  
lica: quā pacificare: custodire: adu-  
nare: et regere digneris toto orbe  
terrarū una eius famulo tuo papa  
nostro. ⁊ cunctis tuis nostris. N. id  
est pro episcopo sanctū ⁊ regem  
nostro. N. ⁊ dicuntur noiatim. Sequa-  
tur et omnibus orthodoxis: atq;  
catholicis et apostolicis fidei cultori-  
bus. hic oriet pro vniuersis.

**M**emento dñe famulorum ⁊ fa-  
mularūq; tuarū. N. et. N.  
In qua oratione ordo debet atten-  
di: propter ordinē caritatis. Quin-  
quies orat sacerdos. Primo pro se  
ipso. Secūdo pro patre et matre car-  
nali et spūali et pro aliis parentibus  
tertio pro amicis specialibus paro-  
chianis ⁊ aliis. Quarto pro oib⁹  
allantibus. Quinto pro omni populo  
cristiano. Et potest hic sacerdos oēs  
suos amicos deo cōmēdare. Cōsu-  
lo tam in venullis ibidē minus in-  
mo: tunc est propter co:dis distracti-  
onē ⁊ propter inuicē q̄d po: sunt  
fieri per angelos malos: tū propter

alia pericula. Et oīu christiānū  
quorū tibi fides cognita est: nota  
deuotio p̄ q̄bus tibi offerimus vel  
q̄ tibi offerūt hoc sacrificiū laudis  
pro se suisq; oib⁹: pro redemptione  
animarū suarū: p̄ spe salutis ⁊  
incolumitatis sue: tibiq; reddunt  
vota sua eterno deo vno et vero.

**C**ommunicātes et memorā  
uenerātes. In primis glori-  
ose semp⁹ virginis Inchnādo pa-  
trū per oīes. marie gūstūis dei et  
dñi nostri iesu xpi. Sicut ⁊ ceterorū  
apostolorū ac martirū tuorū Pet-  
ri Pauli Andreę Jacobi Iohannis  
Thome Jacobi Philippi Bartho-  
lomei marci Symonis ⁊ Thaddei  
Ani Cleti Clementis Sixti Coine-  
li Cypriani Laurenti Crislogoni  
Iohannis et pauli Cosme et Dani-  
ani. Et oīm sanctorū tuorū quorū  
meritis precibusq; cōcedas: ut in  
oib⁹ protectiōis tue muniamur  
auxilio. Per eūdē xpm dñm nostrū  
Amē. Hic respiciat sacerdos hostiā  
eū magna ueneratione dicē.

**H**ic igitur oblationes serui-  
tutis nostre: sed ⁊ cūcte fami-  
lie tue q̄s dñe ut placatus accipias  
dicēsq; nōs in tua pace disponas:  
atq; ab eterna dñatione nos eripi:  
et in electorū tuorū: iubeas grege  
numerari. Per xpm dñm nr̄. Amē  
hic iterum respiciat hostiam dicēs.

**P**otens in omnibus ques-  
umus. Hic faciat tres cruces super  
verūq; cum dicat. Vene ⁊ dictam  
ascri ⁊ ptam: ⁊ am: rationabi-  
lem: acceptabilēq; facere digneris  
de nobis. Hic faciat crucē super pa-  
nem dicē. co: ⁊ pus. Hic super  
⁊. lili.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CANON, FROM A PRINTED SARUM  
MISSAL OF 1520.

(The word *papa* (pope) has been erased in the reign of Henry VIII, and written in again in that of Queen Mary, when also "regel nostro," two lines below, has been altered.)

The Reformation had come. Its liturgical result in our present Prayer Book may be tabulated as follows :—

DIVINE SERVICE	HOLY COMMUNION	OCCASIONAL SERVICES
Psalter. Legend. Antiphonal. Hymnal. Collectar.	<i>Books of the Middle Ages.</i> Sacramentary. Gospel-book. Epistle-book. Gradual. Troper.	Pontifical. Manual. Processional. Pic.
	<i>Combined Books of the Middle Ages.</i> Missal.	Pontifical. Manual.
	<i>Books of the English Reformation.</i> { The Prayer Book } { The Bible }	
DIVINE SERVICE	HOLY COMMUNION	OCCASIONAL SERVICES
Morning Prayer. Evening Prayer. Creed of St. Athanasius. Prayers and Thanks- givings. The Psalter. <i>The Bible.</i>	The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. The Order of Holy Communion.	The Orders of Baptism. The Catechism. Confirmation. Matrimony. Visitation and Com- munion of the Sick. Burial of the Dead. Churching of Women. Commination. Forms . . . at Sea. The Ordinal.

(The Litany is the equivalent of the Processional ; the Order of the Psalter, Kalendar, Tables, &c., supplies the place of the Pic.)

Here, then, is the liturgical explanation of our taking the Bible and the Prayer Book to Church. But it will occur at once to the reader that on Sundays we take a hymn-book as well ; and as a matter of fact hymn-books have been bound up with the Prayer Book from the 16th century onwards. The modern hymn-book occupies indeed an important part in our more popular services, and contains a great many more hymns than the old Latin hymnals. There is also a floating collection of additional services, the most important being the Coronation Service and the Form for the Consecration of Churches (the former taken from the old Pontifical) ; while the Accession Service is by authority printed with the Prayer Book. Three other State Services were added in the Reign of Charles II, and were excluded in that of Victoria ; and a form "At the Healing" (for use when the King laid his hands on sick persons, "touching for the King's Evil"), was sometimes printed with the Prayer Book in the 17th century and in the reign of Queen Anne.

While we are discussing the way in which the old Latin services were transformed into the Prayer Book, it may be worth while for the benefit of our brethren of the Eastern and Roman Catholic Churches to show how it is that two of the ancient Occasional Services, the so-called Lesser Sacraments of Penance and Unction, have still a place in the Anglican Church, though they do not appear among the twenty-seven Contents which are given above.

The Visitation of the Sick contains express directions for confession and absolution, and thus this service includes the second of these Lesser Sacraments ; nor







are individual confession and absolution confined to the sick, for they are proclaimed to the whole in the First Exhortation of the Communion Service ; while general and public confession and absolution are used at Divine Service and at every celebration of the Liturgy. Those who follow the Mediaeval reckoning of seven Sacraments will include Unction also among the seven. Now a service for Anointing the Sick appeared in the First Prayer Book, but was omitted in the second and in all subsequent revisions, the reason being that Unction had become in practice a service for the dying instead of a sacrament of health. The last Lambeth Conference (1908) decided not to recommend the Unction of the Sick, but to allow its use, expressing a hope that the other apostolic act for helping the sick, the Laying on of Hands, might be used with prayers for the restoration of health. Those who are inclined to press the importance of Unction should remember that in the New Testament, and for long afterwards, the Laying on of Hands was used at least as much as Unction for helping the sick. It is therefore rightly to be regarded as an alternative form of the Sacrament of Healing ; just as we administer Confirmation by the Laying on of Hands, whereas in the Eastern Church, and in most of the West, Confirmation is administered by anointing.

The floating mass of additional services is indeed a very important factor in Anglican religion, and we should form a wrong estimate of Anglicanism if we ignored it. The influence of Hymn-books alone upon worship and religion is enormous ; *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the *Hymnal Companion*, *Church Hymns*, and latterly the *English Hymnal*, have proved an invaluable

means of allowing each generation to enrich our services; and they still keep us in touch with the thought and feeling of our own age, besides having the happy result of enabling Christians of other denominations, Protestant and Catholic, to contribute to our services. Closely allied to hymns are the modern anthems, which in cathedral and collegiate churches are collected in Anthem-books, thus adding a fourth to the volumes required for Divine Service each day. Hymns and anthems together place every form of sacred vocal music at the service of the Church. Nor are they unauthorized additions: the existence of these collections of hymns and anthems which provide Anglicanism with so precious an element of freedom has been sanctioned by authority ever since the 16th century (see pp. 65, 96, 97, 136), and the latter are mentioned in the twice repeated rubric, "In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem."

Another notable and ancient feature, which also has the invaluable quality of adaptability to varying needs, is the Bidding Prayer in the pulpit, which is not mentioned in the Prayer Book, but is ordered by the 55th Canon (1603) to be used before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, and has formed part of the Sunday Eucharist from Anglo-Saxon times onwards.

There are also other additional forms of service at the present day, authorized in different dioceses in great number. The idea sometimes put forward that such additions are unlawful innovations will not bear examination: they belong to the bishop's *jus liturgicum*, and are a necessity to a living Church. Before the Reformation every diocese was free to have its own

use; and when the English Church suffered decay in the reign of Elizabeth, no less than forty-four times of public prayer, fasting, thanksgiving, for all sorts of occasions—plague, war, political crisis, etc.—were imposed



PERFECTED ROOM, CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, LONDON, 1440. (See p. 141.)

between 1365 and 1370. Besides the *Liturgy Commemoration of Benefactors*, which is well meted to W. Gifford's Abbey and elsewhere, and the *Glossary*, Ep. 11, 12, 13 Gospel for Edward, in the *Liturgy Prayer Book*, etc. These have been reprinted by the *Public Domain in Liturgical Studies*, (New York, 1910). The *Public Domain* printed a volume of *Prayer Books*, 1910. (See p. 141.)



between 1559 and 1578, the private devotions in this collection including the Primer, which contains among other things forms for Lauds and Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, with office hymns and antiphons, and the Dirge for the departed, with prayers for them.

It may be interesting here to mention some of the forms of prayer and thanksgiving after 1600, copies of which are preserved in the Library of the British Museum :—1626 (Thirty Years' War); 1665 (Victory over the Dutch); 1666 (After the Fire of London), which did not go entirely out of use till 1860; 1784 (End of the War of American Independence); 1789 (Recovery of George III); 1789 (Battle of the Nile); 1815 (Battle of Waterloo); 1847 (Irish Famine); 1856 (Several forms of thanksgiving during the Crimean War); 1859 (End of the Indian Mutiny); 1866 (During the Prevalence of the Cholera); 1887 and 1897 (Queen Victoria's two Jubilees).

The reader will remember other recent forms, such as the memorials for Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, which were issued by the Privy Council, having been drawn up by the Archbishops. The Archbishops themselves, and other bishops also, issued forms of prayer during the Boer War, and of thanksgiving at its conclusion. A collect has been issued at the last two General Elections by the two Primates; and they in 1912 put forth Collects, with special Psalms and Lessons, at the time of the Industrial Unrest of that year. It will be noticed that the forms from 1600 to 1897 were mostly thanksgivings after the event; but in the present century the intercessory element has been greatly restored.



There have been also many local services, such as that at Windsor on St. George's Day, with its great procession, a picture of which we give on p. 170. The Bishops have also had to make their own pontificals, since the Prayer Book only contains four services for their special use. Thus we have forms for the ordination of Deaconesses, the admission of readers, the profession of nuns, and many dedications and benedictions, including forms for the Consecration of churches, chapels, and churchyards. Bishop Andrewes drew up a form of Consecration of a Church in 1620, Convocation in 1712 and 1715. There are similar forms in the American Prayer Book (1799), and the Irish (1878); and one by Bishop John Wordsworth (1898), among others.



TITLE-PAGE OF BISHOP ANDREWES'S  
FORM FOR THE CONSECRATION  
OF A CHURCH.  
(Engraved by Hollar.)

So far indeed from the Anglican Communion being poverty-stricken in liturgical matter, it suffers rather from a plethora of additional services. A selection of those in common use to-day, so far as the Eucharist is concerned, was made by Dr. Frere, Archdeacon Taylor, and the present writer, and published in an altar-book called *The English Liturgy* (and in a small form in *The Sanctuary*), wherein half the additional Collects, Epistles, and Gospels had been already authorized. The Scottish Church authorities recently issued a valuable appendix to the Prayer Book (*The Scottish Liturgy, together with Permissible Additions to and Deviations from the Service Books of the Scottish Church*, Cambridge University Press, 1912), and have now included them in a complete Scottish Prayer Book.

Thus are the needs of each generation brought within the scope of our common intercession and devotion. We are not confined within the corners of the Prayer Book ; nor is the ancient tree dead, which has borne such abundant fruit during the Christian era. Our own branch indeed of that liturgical tree is at present very full of life, and sooner or later the work of Prayer Book Revision, now in its early stages, will bear fruit in a Sixth English Prayer Book.

PART II

*THE STAGES OF LITURGICAL  
REFORM*





## CHAPTER 5

### *THE FIRST STAGES OF LITURGICAL CHANGE*

WE explained in the last chapter how at the Reformation the old Latin services were translated into English, shortened, simplified, altered, and printed in one volume, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," &c., which with the English Bible forms the liturgical basis of our worship; though these two books are supplemented in all the Churches of the Anglican Communion by hymns, anthems, the bidding of prayer, and additional prayers and services.

But this process of Reformation did not happen all at once: it took more than a century, beginning in the reign of Henry VIII (1544) and ending in that of Charles II (1662) during which five English Prayer Books were produced, the fifth being the one which we now use in England. Some day the projects of Prayer Book Revision will doubtless end in our having a sixth, though there are many people who do not wish this to happen just yet. Meanwhile the Anglican Churches of Scotland, Ireland, and America have produced books of their own, with variations from ours.

All this is of course not an innovation of the Reformation period. There have always been many

different liturgies and classes of books in Christendom : the Eastern Church uses many languages ; even in the Churches of the modern Papacy, where every effort has been made for the predominance of the Roman rite, several other rites in different languages are used.

Thus there was abundant precedent both for reforming and for translating the service books ; nor is it likely that the process will ever stop—indeed, in 1911, the Roman Church entirely rearranged the Psalter in what might be called a revolutionary manner, were it not that learned scholars of the Latin West have been urging some such reform for nearly four hundred years. This of course means a new and reformed Roman Breviary.

Now in the 16th century the air was full of reforming projects ; and two foreign books had considerable effect upon Archbishop Cranmer and the other English Reformers—the Reformed Roman *Breviary* of Cardinal Quiñones, and the *Consultation* of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne—indeed our second Preface, “Concerning the Service of the Church,” is a restatement by Cranmer of Quiñones’ arguments for the reform of the Breviary.

### *History of the Changes*

The reform of our services began with the introduction of the English Bible, fourteen years before the year when the first English Prayer Book appeared. The Bible was in 1536 ordered to be set up in every church, so that it might be read aloud out of service time ; and eight years later, Convocation ordered that a chapter of the Bible should be read in English at Mattins after the *Te Deum* and at Evensong after the *Magnificat*. Thus the Lectern may remind us of the

first stage in reform. The Litany-desk tells of the second stage; for, though the Litany was not sung kneeling till three years after, that beautiful service



READING A CHAINED BIBLE IN ST. PAUL'S.

(from a 19th century picture, inaccurate in some details, by Harvey)

itself was produced by the genius of Cranmer, and ordered to be used in 1544.

Then followed the introduction into the Latin services of certain other English features which are mentioned in the summary below :—

### *The First Stages*

1534 (*Henry VIII*). Convocation petitions the King for an authorized English Version of the Bible.

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1535. Coverdale's Bible.

1536. The Bible ordered to be set up in every church. New edition of the Sarum Breviary, in Latin, but with the name of the Roman Pontiff and other things omitted.

1543. **The Lessons in English.** A chapter of the Bible to be read after *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*.

1544. **The English Litany.**

1544-7. Experiments. The *Rationale*, or explanation of the Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England. First and Second Drafts of reformed services in Latin. Cranmer attempts a translation of the Processional.

1547 (*Edward VI*). *August*. Beginning of more radical changes by means of the Injunctions (without the authority of Convocation or Parliament):—Book of Homilies to be read; At High Mass, Epistle and Gospel to be read in English; New form of Bidding Prayer; and some changes in Breviary services.

*November*. Convocation meets (at the opening Mass, *Gloria in Excelsis*, Creed, and *Agnus* sung in English), and approves Communion in both kinds.

1548. *January and February*. The Council (without the authority of Convocation or Parliament) forbids the special ancient ceremonies of Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday; and the use of the Blessed Bread (see p. 179) and Holy Water.

*March*. **The Order of the Communion**, drawn up by sundry "grave and well-learned prelates," provides for Communion in both kinds, and is



to come into use at Easter by Royal proclamation. This Order consists of the following, inserted before the Communion in the Latin Service :—First Exhortation, Second Exhortation, "Ye that do truly," the Confession, the Absolution and Comfortable Words, "We do not presume," the Words of Administration in both kinds (first part), "The Peace of God" (without the Blessing), a Note that the bread is to be as heretofore (round wafers) and each wafer is to be broken for Communion, and a Note that if the Chalice is exhausted the priest is to consecrate afresh, beginning *Simili modo postquam coenatum est*, "Likewise after Supper," "without any levation or lifting up."

*April and September.* Preaching forbidden, owing to the opposition in many parishes.

*May.* St. Paul's and other churches "sung all the service in English, both Mattins, Mass, and Evensong": it therefore appears that these services of the First Prayer Book were already drafted, at least in some experimental form, the choir services being reduced to two, Mattins and Evensong.

At the accession of the boy-King, it is clear that the whole atmosphere was changed: the power passed into the hands of the knot of men—and history shows them to have been despotic and evil men—who ruled in King Edward's name. From this gang of robbers—who were five years later to ransack the property of the people in the guilds and parish churches, robbing the poor for the sake of the rich—Archbishop Cranmer stands apart, trying to steer his own uncertain course. He was no Luther to cry in the face of the world, "Here stand

## 60 FIRST STAGES OF LITURGICAL CHANGE

I: I can do no otherwise"; yet, though his will was continually moulded by others, he was able to bring his



KING EDWARD VI RECEIVING THE BIBLE FROM  
CERTAIN BISHOPS.

(Behind them are two priests in gown or surplice and tipper. On the right is a group of peers. From Cranmer's *Calendar*, 1545.)

own great gift to the Reformation—a power of liturgical art which places him among the great prose-writers of the

world. Others worked with him and after him—as others had worked before; and the beauty of their united product is witness to the greatness of that age



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

(From the painting by Flicius, 1546, in the National Portrait Gallery.) He is in his outdoor habit of cassock, rochet, chimere, tippet of sables, and square cap.

of literature which covered the hundred years between the First Prayer Book and the last, and gave us the writings of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, as well as the five English Prayer Books and the Authorized Version of the Bible. But side by side with the constructive work of the bishops, there went the destructive work of the Protector and his allies, carried out unconstitutionally by proclamations and injunctions.

During the second year of Edward VI the divines



were engaged upon their task; and, as we have seen, the new English services were tried at St. Paul's and other places. At the close of that year (in January, 1549), the First Prayer Book became law by the First Act of Uniformity, and by March, 1549, the book was published.



BISHOP RIDLEY.

(From a later print.)

Whether it had the formal consent of Convocation, as well as that of the two Houses of Parliament (all the members of which were of course communicant Churchmen), we do not know for certain; but the bishops voted for it, by a majority of ten to eight, in the House of Lords, and two letters of the king assert that it received also the assent of the other clergy in their synods and convocations. The names of the divines who compiled the First Prayer Book are also hidden in some obscurity; but we know that they represented both the reforming and the conservative side,

and it is nearly certain that among them were Bishops Ridley, Holbeach, Thirlby, and Goodrich, as well as Archbishop Cranmer.

Let us here take up again our table of events. Cranmer had doubtless been working at the translation of the Latin services for some years: we can imagine



with what joy he had turned from the racking cares of State to the quiet solace of that literary work for

which God had designed him. One would suppose that the main part of the English Prayer Book was ready a year or two before it was issued: he could not well have rested after the production, four years earlier, of what is still perhaps the most perfect of our services, the English Litany; he must have felt his powers, and rejoiced in them. One pictures him with the manuscript ready, waiting his opportunity to put it forth; then, on King Henry's death, calling committee-meetings of the sundry "grave and well-learned prelates," sending the Order of the Communion to the printers, and (in



BISHOP GOODRICH.

(From his brass in Ely Cathedral.)

He was the author of the Two Duties in the Catechism.

March, 1548) issuing this second instalment of the Prayer Book; then he must have had copies made of "Mattins, Mass, and Evensong," so that two months later these services could be sung in English at St.

Paul's, and a few days after at Westminster Abbey. With the experience thus gained, his fellow-divines would have helped Cranmer to put finishing-touches on the work, testing it in the Royal Chapel between May and September, and working also at the rest of the Prayer Book; and we know that in September a further step was taken by an order to the college-chapels of Cambridge to conform in "Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and all divine service" to the use of the King's Chapel. Three months later the bishops are discussing the new book in the House of Lords.

<p style="text-align: center;">At the Communion when</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Sanctus.</p>  <p>H <i>Alp. Help. Help, lord god of hostes,</i></p>  <p>Heaven and earth are full of thy glory, <i>Osanna</i></p>  <p><i>in the highest.</i> <i>Q</i> <i>belled is he that cometh.</i></p>  <p><i>in the name of the lord, Osanna in the highest.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Agnus dei,</p>  <p><i>O</i> <i>Lambe of god that takest away the</i> <i>synnes</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">there is a buriall.</p>  <p><i>synnes of the world, Graunt mercy upon vs.</i></p>  <p><i>O</i> <i>Lambe of god that takest away the</i></p>  <p><i>synnes of the world, Graunt mercy upon vs.</i></p>  <p><i>O</i> <i>Lambe of god that takest away the</i></p>  <p><i>synnes of the world, Graunt us thy peace.</i></p>
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John Merbecke.

MERBECKE'S BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER NOTED.

(Facsimile of the two last pages.)

1548. *May.* English Services at St. Paul's and Westminster.

*September.* English Services ordered for Cambridge University..

*December.* Debates in Parliament on the First Prayer Book (and probably in Convocation also).

First Metrical Psalter (nineteen psalms by Sternhold) about now. (The 2nd Edition was in 1549, with thirty-seven psalms.)

1549. *January 21st.* First Act of Uniformity. The First Prayer Book becomes law.

*March 7.* **First Prayer Book printed and published.**

*June 9th.* Date fixed by the Act for the Book to be everywhere used.

*June 10th.* Armed rebellions against the Act begin, especially in the West of England. The insurgents demand the old ceremonies—Holy water, Images, Ashes, Palms, etc., and the service in Latin. They are suppressed by foreign mercenaries.

1550. *The Book of Common Prayer Noted*, by John Merbecke, published. This is Merbecke's famous musical setting, which is still so largely sung.

*March.* **The English Ordinal issued**, containing the Ordering of Deacons, the Ordering of Priests, and the Consecration of Bishops. The essential parts of the Latin rite were carefully retained, but the ceremonial rather ruthlessly cut down.

1549-1551. The Foreign Reformers (Bucer, Peter Martyr, etc.) criticize the First Prayer Book.

1551. Third Edition of *Old Version* of metrical psalms, seven psalms by Hopkins being added to Sternhold's.

## CHAPTER 6

### *THE FIRST ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK*

THE First Prayer Book was an English simplification, condensation, and reform of the old Latin services, done with care and reverence in a genuine desire to remove the difficulties of the Mediaeval rites by a return to antiquity. It has been frequently reprinted in our own time, and can easily be obtained, new or second-hand, by the reader. Here we must content ourselves with a brief summary.

The "Contentes of this Booke" are fourteen in number—Preface ["There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised"—now our second preface]; Tables and Kalendar; Mattins and Evensong; Introits, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels; Holy Communion; Baptism; Confirmation and Catechism; Matrimony; Visitation and Communion of the Sick [including an Order for Unction]; Burial; Purification of Women; A Declaration of Scripture with certain prayers to be used the first Day of Lent [The Commination]; Of Ceremonies omitted or retained [now our third preface]; Certain Notes.

Mattins and Evensong begin with the Lord's Prayer, and end with the Third Collect: no alternatives are provided to *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, or *Nunc Dimittis*.



Otherwise these services are the same as our present ones; but it is compulsory to use *Benedicite* in the place of *Te Deum* in Lent, and the Athanasian Creed (printed after Evensong) is ordered for use immediately after *Benedictus* six times a year—on Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday.

The Introits for the Communion consist of whole Psalms. The Collects are mainly those which we still use, but some of our best have been written later, e.g. Advent iii, Easter Even; and some have since been expanded, e.g. St. Stephen and St. John, or altered, e.g. Innocents' Day. Introits, Collects, etc., are also given for a second Communion on Christmas and Easter Day, and for St. Mary Magdalene (the stupid omission of these from the Second Book has been since partly repaired by the insertion of the first two in the Irish and the American Prayer Books).

It is in the Communion that the greatest differences from our present English Liturgy appear, though here again the Scottish and American Liturgies have gone back behind the changes of the Second Prayer Book to the model of the First. The title is "The Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse." The main differences from the present English Services are as follows:—Ninefold Kyrie without Decalogue, followed by *Gloria in Excelsis*. Immediately after the Offertory follows the *Sursum Corda*, Preface, and *Sanctus*, followed by the prayer "for the whole state of Christes church" (without the words "militant" etc.); continuing with a commemoration of the saints, "And here we do geve unto thee moste

high praise, and hartie thankes for the wonderfull grace and vertue, declared in all thy saintes," etc.

Then follows the Prayer of Consecration, which includes an *Epiklesis*, that is an invocation of the Holy Spirit to hallow the gifts of Bread and Wine. This insertion of the *Epiklesis* (which Cranmer took mainly from the Eastern Liturgy of St. Basil) was a very important step. The extant early Liturgies all contain it (p. 191), as well as the Eastern Liturgies of the present day, in which it is regarded as the actual consecration of the Eucharist. The Roman Liturgy, on the other hand, has no definite *Epiklesis* (p. 82), and Latin theologians have for ages laid the stress on the Words of Institution, "This is my Body . . . This is my Blood." This stress was increased in the Middle Ages by new ceremonies such as the Elevation ; and consequently there arose the idea that the Eucharist is consecrated merely by the repetition of our Lord's words. Cranmer probably knew that there was no justification for this idea in early Church practice, and therefore inserted the *Epiklesis* into the prayer *Quam oblationem*, while at the same time forbidding the Elevation. In the Eastern Liturgies, as well as in our own Scottish and American Liturgies, the *Epiklesis* comes *after* the words of Institution ; but, by inserting them *before* these words in the First Prayer Book, Cranmer effected a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western ideas, obviating objections on the Western side while at the same time practically satisfying the Eastern view ; and, as it happens, there has quite recently been discovered an ancient Egyptian rite, which has an *Epiklesis* in this position. In view of this ancient divergence between the Eastern and the Roman Liturgies

the only possible position is that of the early Church, namely not to theorize on the matter or imagine that any particular form of words is essential. Thus it

cannot be said that there is a precise moment of Consecration, dependent upon a particular form of words, but only that the gift of our Lord's presence in the Eucharist is vouchsafed in answer to the prayer of the Church.

The Prayer of Consecration is followed by "Wherefore, O Lorde and heavenly father, accordyng to the Instytucion of thy derely beloved sonne,"



THE ORNAMENTS OF THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK.

From a pre-Reformation MS., c. 1493.  
(The first Prayer Book, however, forbade the  
Elevation, which is here depicted.)

etc. (the *Unde et memores* of the Latin rites), continuing, "And here wee offre and present unto thee (O Lorde) oure selfe, oure soules," etc. (our Prayer of Oblation). The Lord's Prayer comes next, and then "Christ our



Pascall lambe is offred up for us," etc. : after which is inserted the Order of the Communion, from "You that do truly" to the Words of Administration. The *Agnus Dei* (of course in English) is ordered to be sung during the Communion, and after it twenty-two sentences from the New Testament, one of which is to be said or sung as a post-Communion. These are followed by our Prayer of Thanksgiving, and the Blessing.

The Baptismal Services contain, besides the parts which we are familiar with, an Exorcism of the "uncleane spirite," and a rubric for thrice dipping the child in the water (which is ordered to be changed once a month, and the new water blessed) : but the pouring of water is allowed if the child be weak. After this, the sponsors are to take the child, and the minister to put on him his white vesture, commonly called the Chrisom, with the words "Take this white vesture for a token of the innocencie," etc. ; and the priest anoints the infant upon the head. The Chrisom is to be brought back at the mother's churching.

The Catechism is printed under the head of Confirmation, and ends at the Lord's Prayer and the Desire. At Confirmation the Bishop not only lays his hand upon every child, but crosses each child on the forehead (this was revived in the Scottish rite during the 18th century). The Visitation of the Sick contains a prayer and psalm for Unction, "if the sicke person desyre to be annoynted" ; and the Communion of the Sick appoints that if on the day appointed "there be a celebracion of the holy communion in the churchē, then shall the priest reserve (at the open communion) so muche of the sacrament of the body and bloud, as



shall serve." For Burial, the Psalms are 116, 146, 139 (a far better selection than we now have); and there is a beautiful commendation and a prayer for the departed person "that his soule and all the soules of thy electe, departed out of this lyfe, may with us and we with them, fully receive thy promisses, and be made perfite altogether." The prayer, "Almighty God, with whom do live" is differently worded; and then follow an Introit (Psalm 42), Collect ("O merciful God," rather more definitely worded), Epistle, and Gospel, for funeral Celebrations.



THE ALBE AND  
VESTMENT.

Brass at Saffron Walden.

(Over his apparelled amice and albe, the priest wears a "vestment," i.e., a stole and fanon which are embroidered with the same pattern as the apparels, and a perfectly plain chasuble, large and bell-shaped and gathered into ample folds at the arms, so that it is very like the paenula on p. 182.)

After Churching and the Communion, the First Prayer Book concludes with what is now our third preface, and "Certayne Notes for the more playne explication and decent ministracion of thinges contained in thys booke." The first Note orders the surplice and allows the hood for Mattins, Evensong, Baptizing, and Burying (a rubric before the Holy Communion orders the albe, vestment or cope, and tunicle for that service). The second Note appoints the rochet, surplice, or albe, cope or vestment, and the pastoral staff for the Bishop. The third is—"As touching kneeling, crossing, holding

up of handes, knocking upon the brest, and other gestures : they may be used or left as every man's devocion serveth without blame." The fourth allows the singing of an anthem instead of the Litany on the Great Feasts ; and the fifth gives the curate discretion to omit the Litany, *Gloria in Excelsis*, Creed, Homily, and Exhortation, "if there bee a sermone, or for other greate cause."

These Notes well illustrate that common sense which is characteristic of the First Prayer Book from cover to cover. It is indeed throughout an exemplar of what we proudly claim as one of the best elements in the English character : alike in ritual, that is, in the wording of the services, and in ceremonial, it endeavours to avoid the extremes of bigots and fanatics, seeking to establish what is true and right without regard to prejudices, reactions, and the cruel generalizations so characteristic of the period. Catholic conservatism there is, but it is the conservatism which is not afraid of new ideas ; Protestantism there is, but it is the Protestantism that will not throw away the gold with the dross ; compromise there is, but it is the compromise which honestly accepts truth from both sides. It is positive, constructive, practical ; and we may safely say that, ever since it was so roughly altered at the end of Edward VI's reign, the opinion of the whole Anglican Communion has been steadily coming back to the principles of the First Prayer Book, and that every subsequent revision has restored something which the Second Book took away. In fact, as is stated in the very Act which substituted the Second Book for it, the First Prayer Book was "a very godly order

. . . for common prayer and administration of the sacraments, . . . agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church ” ; but there had “ arisen in the use and exercise . . . divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of same, rather by curiosity of the minister, and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause.”

The First Prayer Book was indeed too fair-minded for the violent and bitter spirit of the age.

Our Book of Common Prayer has been like a ship launched upon a troublous sea. The ship was shattered before the end of this reign, sunk in that of Mary, refitted when Elizabeth began to reign, wrecked in the storms of the 17th century, then careened and repaired ; she was becalmed in the 18th, and, after steering a gusty course between the rocks of the Victorian era, she is now in the 20th century the oldest ship of a small fleet, tough and full of life in spite of her age, and sailing with a good wind, but needing again the shipwright's hand.

## CHAPTER 7

### *THE REIGN OF ANARCHY AND THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK*

THE First Prayer Book was too conservative for the foreign Reformers, some of whom had come to England—notably Bucer, of Strassburg, and Peter Martyr Vermigli, an Italian, who were installed at Cambridge and Oxford respectively as divinity professors, while others, including Calvin himself, “the Geneva Pope”, who was graciously pleased to say that the Book contained “many tolerable absurdities,” sent letters calling for



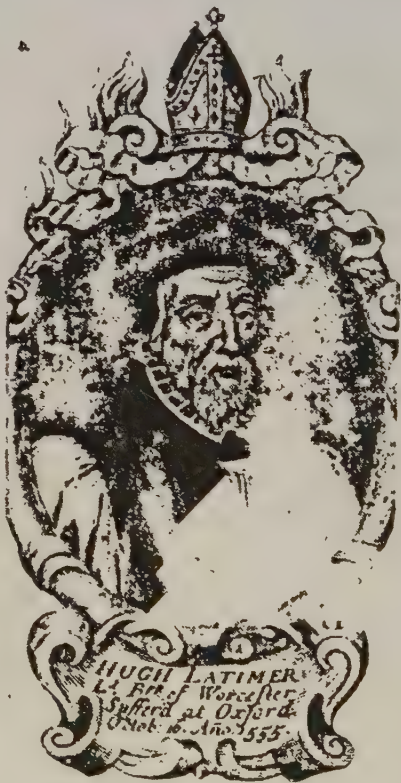
BISHOP P. HOOPER.



more drastic changes. The criticisms of these and other extreme men, such as Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester, and Ridley—who had been given the See of London, from which Bonner was illegally deprived by the Council of Regency—had great influence upon the too malleable mind of Cranmer. Almost from the moment the First Prayer Book was published, measures were being taken for superseding it by another book which should be more acceptable to the Continental Reformers and the small but determined body of extremists in England.

Meanwhile, the reign of terror under Henry VIII had been succeeded by a despotism of anarchy under the boy king. Bonner and Gardiner were in prison—they were to have their revenge in Mary's reign; all moderates and conservatives were removed from the Council, and the moderate bishops from their sees.

The first Protector, Somerset, had endeavoured, with Cranmer and Latimer, to redeem the miseries of the poor; but even Somerset was a great robber, as the name of Somerset House should remind us. To build this palace (which he did not live to enjoy) he destroyed three bishops' houses and one parish church, as if they had



BISHOP LATIMER.

been so much slum property ; and he pulled down the cloister of St. Paul's Cathedral and Clerkenwell Priory for further building materials. He had actually intended to build his palace on the site of Westminster Abbey ; and the Dean only averted the destruction of the Abbey by bribing him with the gift of more than half its estates. Somerset was sent to the Tower in the year of the First Prayer Book, to be beheaded two years afterwards. His successor, Northumberland, was a villain unmitigated. The misery of the poor increased, the character of the clergy declined, because the cures were filled with "ass-heads" and "lack-Latins," as the immortal sermons of Latimer bear witness.

The destruction of the altars in London by Ridley was at least conscientious, though it was illegal, as well as barbarous and unreasonable (the Lutherans were sensible enough to spare the beautiful altars of Germany and Scandinavia, and their Protestantism did not suffer thereby) ; but all over the country the churches were looted simply for the sake of plunder—the organs were sold for the price of their pipes, even the melting of the bells was begun ; the priceless church plate, which had been the treasure of the people for centuries, was pillaged, so that, a generation later, there were still some churches with nothing but a single chalice. The parish churches, as well as the benefit clubs and guilds (which were the trade unions of the time), had belonged to the people, had been enriched by the people, and managed by them. But now Commissioners were sent all over England to make inventories, "forasmuch as the King's Majesty had need presently of a mass of money" ; and before the end of poor little King Edward's reign there had

been a clean sweep of all that was worth stealing: the churches, their chests, their treasuries had been ransacked, and nothing but the bare walls remained of the ancient

beauty which Englishmen had so loved—which the poor had looked upon as part of their birthright. Even the walls were suffered to decay. In the Second Book of Homilies, issued nine years after King Edward's death, we read—"It is a sin and shame to see so many churches so ruinous and so foully decayed, almost in every corner. . . . Suffer them not to be defiled with rain and weather, with dung of doves and owls, stares and choughs, and other filthiness, and as it is foul and lamentable to behold in many places of this country." The hospitals and almshouses were destroyed; the universities only just escaped. "To the Universities," says that



A "STABLE OF ASSES."

TOM TOWER, CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD.

staunchest upholder of the Reformation, J. A. Froude, "the Reformation brought with it desolation. . . . They were called Stables of Asses. . . . The Government cancelled the exhibitions which had been granted



for the support of poor scholars. They suppressed the Professorships and Lectureships. . . . College Libraries were plundered and burnt. The Divinity Schools at Oxford were planted with cabbages, and the laundresses dried clothes in the School of Arts." It was not the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry that created English pauperism, but the Disendowment of the Parishes under his son. The bulk of the money went to enrich the gang of ruffians who tyrannized over England; while thirty "King Edward VI Schools" were set up here and there, to hoodwink the public of that and succeeding generations. The old parish community was destroyed; "an atmosphere of meanness and squalor," says Dr. Jessop, still pervades "the shrivelled assemblies" of the 17th and 18th centuries; and the Parish Councils Act has not yet succeeded in restoring its ancient spirit.

All this is still but little known, but we cannot appreciate the liturgical changes of Edward VI's reign unless we know it. Side by side with the influence of the English extremists and of the foreigners—some of whom, including Bucer, the most prominent critic, could not speak a word of the language in which the Prayer Book was written—was the brigandage of men like Northumberland, who had no zeal for Protestantism—indeed, Northumberland professed himself a Papist on the scaffold. The Edwardian robbers were not genuine reformers, but they effectively destroyed the old manner of worship which had gone on under the First Prayer Book by their looting of the ornaments. It is to them, and to the Cromwellians of a later time, that the desolation of England's churches until our own age is due. We have done our best, not often wisely, to restore them;



but we can never bring back the priceless works of art which were scrapped for a few shillings and melted down for the value of their metal.

In 1552 Parliament passed the Act above mentioned, which stated that the First Prayer Book was agreeable to the Word of God, but that doubts had arisen (through curiosity rather than any worthy cause), and it would therefore be explained and made perfect. The "explanation" turned out to be the Second Prayer Book, which neither explained nor perfected the First Book, but very seriously altered it. This book was therefore thrust upon England under false pretences; nor had it received any sanction from the Church of England. In it was pasted by the Privy Council's order, three days before its publication, the "Black Rubric," which, in the form it then had, denied any real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Cranmer could control the party in power no longer. The man who had triumphed at the end was John Knox.

What now strikes us most about the Second Prayer Book is its doctrinaire and unpractical character. Certain formulas, still repeated by us day after day, which sensible men of all parties desire to see removed, come to us from this source. Because of it, we still, for instance, have to recite twice a day the Confession and Absolution, which led Ruskin to complain, in his *Letters to the Clergy*, that we pray in the morning that the rest of our lives may be pure and holy, with the consciousness that a few hours later we shall be required to say "that there is no health in us"; and we should have to endure the meaningless repetition of the Exhortation, "Dearly beloved brethren," if the Shortened Services Act had

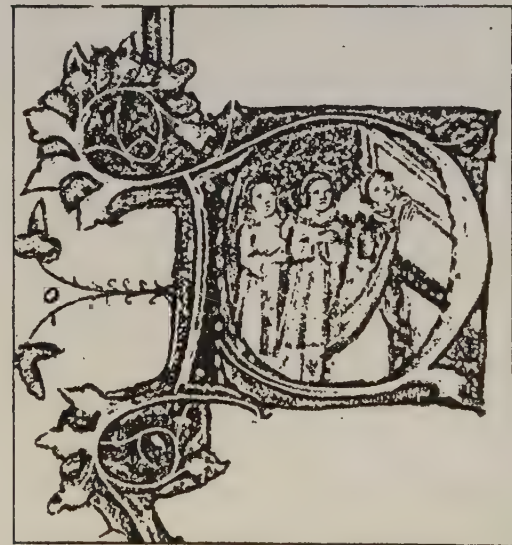
not confined that obligation to Sundays. This most prominent blot on Divine Service we owe to the Second Book : the First had opened Divine Service with the Lord's Prayer. The Second Book also marred the simplicity of the Divine Service by printing certain psalms as alternatives to the Gospel Canticles—a rather futile addition, which still helps to make it difficult for unlearned folk to find their places. It also gave us those special Prayers in Time of Dearth, War, and Plague, which are now so obsolete that they are seldom heard in church ; so that, as was the case during the last war, new prayers have to be provided in their place. Similarly, the constant repetition of the Ten Commandments in the Communion Service is a legacy from this unfortunate book : the Scottish and American Churches have relieved themselves from this, which becomes a burdensome formality when there are frequent Celebrations : and there can be little doubt that the English Church at the next revision will use the Decalogue more sparingly. One other practical instance needs mention. A new sentence (excellent in itself) was substituted for the ancient Words of Administration : it is still with us, as the second part of the form we use ; for in 1559 the old sentence was restored. Ever since then, the clergy have had to use the two sentences combined. This adds so much to the length and labour of the administration that, in large churches, where there are from five hundred to a thousand communicants, the use of the form is found to be a physical impossibility, and the bishop's leave is obtained to shorten it. The Scottish Liturgy has long since put this right.

Most notable were the changes made in the Com-

munion Service. The Introit, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus* were omitted ; and, what was more important, the ancient long prayer of Consecration was disintegrated, and still in the present English Prayer Book lies divided into five parts—the Church Militant Prayer, the Preface, the Prayer of Consecration, the Lord's Prayer, and the Prayer of Oblation. In this also the Scottish Liturgy has gone

back to the model of the First Book ; and we shall doubtless one day follow its example.

To the student of to-day it must always seem strange that the Reformers of the 16th century were so much infected with the idea that the Latin Communion Services embodied the mediaeval superstitions which were then associated with the word "Mass": the truth of course is that the Latin Canon,



PRIEST, DEACON, AND SUBDEACON  
AT MASS.

(From a 15th cent. MS.)

though itself a rather unskilful piece of patchwork, is much older than those superstitions, and stands out, by its primitive sobriety and moderation, as a remarkable protest against the mediaeval or "Romish" exaggerations of those who have used it. The changes in the Canon were therefore not so wanton as they seem now, but were due to this mistaken

idea. It may indeed have been from ignorance that the revisers of 1552 omitted the Epiklesis, or prayer for the Holy Spirit to sanctify the bread and wine (p. 68), which Cranmer had taken from the Eastern Liturgies and inserted in the First Book ; for the omission of this prayer is one of the peculiar defects of the Latin Mass. Some indeed think that the prayer *Supplices te* is a weakened Epiklesis, and some hold that this invocation of the Holy Spirit is to be found in the prayer *Quam Oblationem* ; but this is itself enough to show how obscure the traces of the Epiklesis are in the Roman Liturgy.

Thus the Second Book, by removing the Epiklesis from the Canon, not only made a blot upon our Liturgy, but also made it in this respect more like the Roman Mass. Here again the Scottish and American Liturgies have gone back to the First Prayer Book, and have indeed themselves improved upon it.

Exorcism was omitted from the Baptismal Service ; but most unreasonably the Scriptural practice of anointing the sick, and the primitive practice of reserving the Sacrament for them at the open Communion, were omitted from the Visitation ; and the provision of a special Celebration was omitted from the Burial Service, while the prayers for the departed were made vaguer, largely in the interests of Calvinism. The other changes were mainly in matters of ceremonial. Morning and Evening Prayer were to be "in such place . . . as the people may best hear"—that is, in any part of the church that the fancy of the minister might suggest. The anointing, the chrisom-vesture, and the triple repetition of the immersion were removed from the Baptismal Service,



and the rubric as to the bread and wine and water from the Communion. Two ceremonies of late origin—the delivery of the chalice to the priest and of his pastoral staff to the bishop—were omitted from the Ordinal. But the outward character of the services, in the churches which the Commissioners were fleeing, was most affected by the disappearance of the former rubrics and notes ordering the historic vestments, and by a new rubric stating that neither albe, vestment, nor cope should be worn, but that the bishop should wear a rochet and the priest a surplice only—the innocuous hood and scarf thus sharing the fate of the other vestments. Really, the despots of the Anarchy seem to have gone a little mad.

Already, in May, 1552, the Privy Council had published Forty-two Articles which endeavoured to enforce Zwinglian doctrines upon the English Church. As in the case of the Second Prayer Book, the English Church was not invited to sanction these Articles ; but the Council had the effrontery to state on the title-page that they had been agreed upon by the bishops in Convocation. By November 1st the Second Prayer Book was ready for use ; and used it was for a while in churches from which even the organs had been taken.

The looting went on, as the Second Prayer Book ran through its brief career. Early in 1553, a new commission was issued, directing the seizure of all remaining valuables from the churches : the plate was sent to the Tower of London, and melted down, “forasmuch as the King’s Majesty” was still in that mysterious need “of a mass of money.” Poor little King ! On July 6th he was dead ; and England showed her opinion of the

deeds that had been done in his name, by welcoming with enthusiasm Queen Mary to his throne. Poor



### THE LAST DAYS OF CRANMER.

(From Foxe's Book of Martyrs.)

Dr. Cole is disputing with him from a pulpit. A friar and a graduate are pulling him from a platform. The two figures on the left are priests in gown, tippet, and cap. Cranmer is not dressed as a bishop. He let his beard grow after the death of Henry VIII.

Mary, poor England! The chief actors of the former reign pass away to prison or exile, or to the bitter vengeance of the faggot and the axe.

### *Summary of Events*

1549. *March.* **The First English Prayer Book.**

*September.* Deprivation of Bonner, Bishop of London, followed later by that of other bishops.

- October.* Fall of the Protector Somerset. Northumberland rules the Council of Regency.
- 1549-1552. Bucer, Peter Martyr, Calvin, and others put forward objections to the First Prayer Book.
1550. *The First English Ordinal.*
- Destruction of altars by Bishop Ridley in London.
1552. Various "Commissions for Church Goods."
- April.* The Second Act of Uniformity sanctions the new Prayer Book.
- May.* The Forty-two Articles.
- November 1st.* **The Second English Prayer Book** first used. "It never had the slightest claim to ecclesiastical authority, and cannot even plead acceptance by the Church, for it was only in force about eight months, and probably was never used at all in many parts of England." (Wakeman.)
1553. *January.* Last Edwardian Commission for Church goods.
- July 6th.* Death of King Edward VI. Accession of Queen Mary.
- Execution of the Protector Northumberland (who now declares himself a Papist after all).
1554. Reconciliation of England to the Papacy.
- 1555-8. The Marian Persecutions. Martyrdom of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and about 300 others.
1558. Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

## CHAPTER 8

### *THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER BOOK*

MERCIFULLY we can pass over the horrors of the Marian persecutions, whose only effect was to stiffen the broad back of England against the Pope, and profoundly to deepen our national Protestantism. We are concerned here only with the history of a single book, and we therefore turn at once to the Third Act of Uniformity, in the year after Elizabeth's accession.

The Latin services had of course been used in Mary's reign. She had restored the Sarum rites: the Roman ritual was not introduced among the English Papists till early in the 17th century. On November 17th, 1558, Elizabeth came to the throne; and measures were at once taken for the restoration of the Prayer Book. Naturally but unfortunately the Second Book held the field. Queen Elizabeth, who sided with the small but sensible moderate party, was determined that at least that Book should be relieved of some of its worst features. In April, 1559, the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity was passed, nine bishops voting against it: the Third Prayer Book, thus introduced, met with little opposition, and led to the deprivation of only about 200 of the Marian clergy. Convocation had not been



consulted. The consent of the Church can thus only be claimed by virtue of its subsequent acquiescence ; but from this time the history of the Prayer Book as a national institution may fairly be said to begin.

That the authorities did not make a revision on the basis of the First Book was a profound misfortune for the Church ; but considering what had happened in Mary's reign, the wonder is that the Queen in her wisdom was able to counteract the extremists as much as she did. England had indeed reason to be grateful to Elizabeth, in this as in other matters.



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the painting by Zuccherio in the National Portrait Gallery.)

In restoring the Second Book, therefore, certain few but important alterations were secured, which made the Elizabethan Prayer Book very different in

effect. Thus began that series of changes in the direction of the First Book which has made up our liturgical history since, and is not finished yet. The changes in the Third Prayer Book were as follows :—

#### PRINCIPAL CHANGES IN THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER BOOK

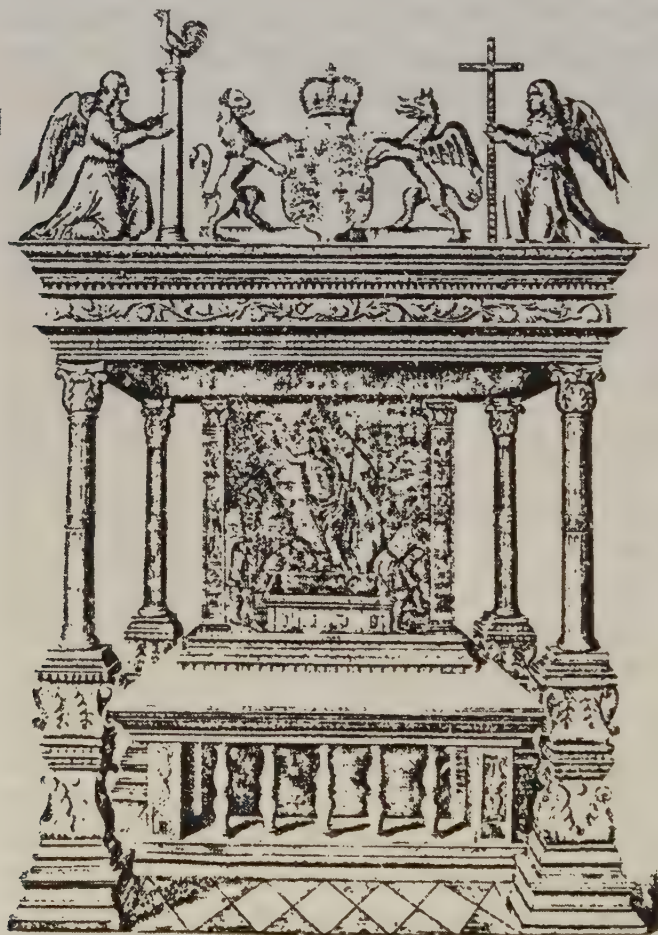
Morning and Evening Prayer were to be “in the accustomed place,” i.e. in the choir, instead of “in such

place . . . as the people may best hear." The next rubric of the Second Book, forbidding all vestments but the rochet and surplice, was superseded by the Ornaments Rubric, which brought back at one stroke the externals of public worship to the condition under the First Book (p. 71), ordering the minister to "use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of king Edward the VI."

In the Communion, the ancient words of administration, "The Body of our Lord," etc., were restored : but unfortunately the sentence of the Second Book, "Take and eat this," etc., was left in as well, and thus the form became too long (p. 80). The Black Rubric was removed. The Prayer for the Queen and the Prayer for Clergy and People were added, but they were printed at the end of the Litany : the mistake of setting the "State Prayers" (with that for the Royal Family, added in 1604) down for use twice a day was not made till 1662 (p. 128). The few other changes were of little importance : but it is a credit to Elizabethan statesmanship that, when the embers of Smithfield were hardly cooled, the petition to be delivered "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities" was removed from the Litany.

In 1560 the Prayer Book was published in Latin ; and in the same year was issued the first of those Additional Services by which our worship has been enriched from time to time in succeeding ages. These have been mentioned on p. 49, but constant misapprehensions make it worth repeating that neither the Prayer Book itself nor the Act of Uniformity enforcing it prevent the use of duly authorized additional services.

In 1561 a Commission was appointed to revise the Kalendar, and the names of the black-letter saints, much



ALTAR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN KING HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY,

Under which Edward VI was buried. It was set up by Henry VIII, and was destroyed by the Puritans in 1643. The two pilasters which are seen supporting the ends of the altar were afterwards found, and are now restored to the present altar.

as we now have them, were added. In 1562 the Forty-two Articles were reduced to Thirty-nine, with other changes. In the same year the Pope forbade his adherents to attend the English services, and in 1570 he launched his Bull of Excommunication, *Regnans in excelsis*, against Queen Elizabeth, and thus finally separated them from the English

Church. In 1571 the Second Book of Homilies was issued.



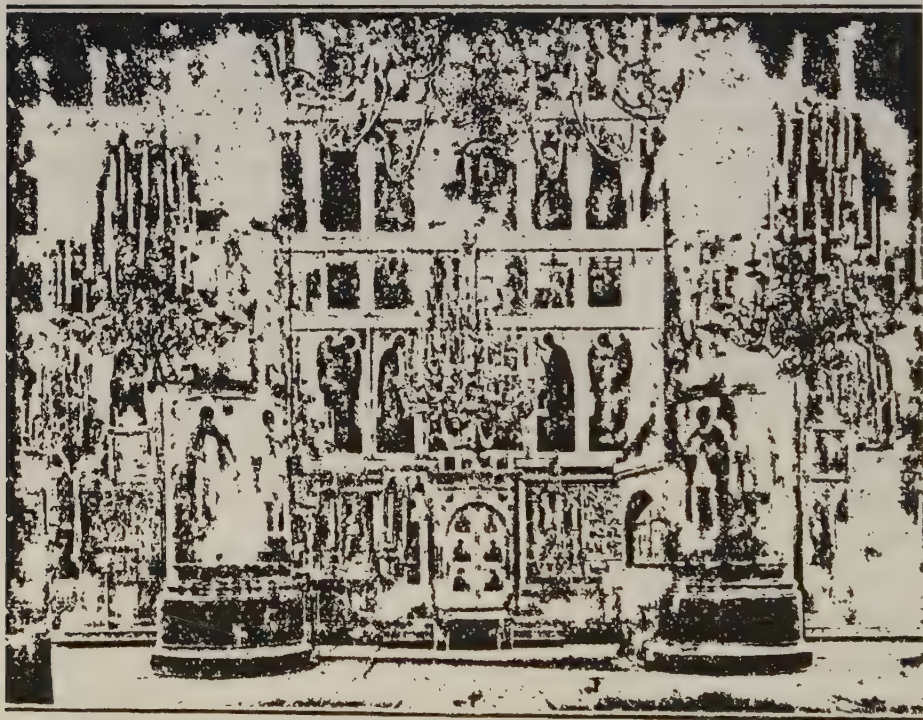
## PURITAN OPPOSITION

Meanwhile the Puritans struggled to have the Prayer Book altered, and many evaded its use. The return of the Marian exiles increased their power ; and efforts were made, in Convocation and in Parliament, to abolish those beautiful and helpful ceremonies which stirred some men to a strangeness of opposition in this era of religious reaction. The sign of the cross in Baptism, kneeling at communion, the wedding-ring, every sort of vestment, including the black gown and college cap as well as the cope and surplice, were bitterly attacked. In 1562 a proposal in the lower house of Convocation to abolish these things, and also (incredible as it may seem to modern descendants of the Puritans) the organ, was only lost by one vote ; and this was in spite of the known determination of the Queen, whose decisive action indeed alone prevented the House of Commons from perpetrating that wholesale vandalism.

We cannot understand the subsequent history of the Prayer Book unless we realize the depth of this madness which fastened upon England—a madness which is only becoming extinct in the 20th century. It was the insanity of a wild reaction, a kind of Romanism turned inside out. Because the Roman Catholic Church (in common with the whole of Christendom up to the 16th century) acted on the obvious truth that beauty is a good thing, the majority of Englishmen paid Rome the compliment of embracing ugliness for her sake. They magnified Rome so much that they shaped their conduct by running into opposites. They threw away the wealth



of popular devotion, which made her churches living houses of prayer with open doors and thronged altars, and which is still her real strength to-day ; they did not know that such devotion had always been the note of all Christendom, and was (as it still is) even more marked



THE USPENSKY CATHEDRAL, MOSCOW.

Showing the great ikonostasis, or screen before the altar.

in the Eastern Churches than in those in communion with the Pope. They thus set themselves against the mind of Christendom, as well as against one of the profoundest truths of God's universe—the inspiring virtue of beauty. They invented the notion that the

devotional ways of fifteen hundred years and the use of any loveliness of symbolism in the service of God were connected with the autocracy of the Pope—a notion which would have been impossible even to their narrow minds, had not the Eastern Churches been in their time both weak and remote (for Moscow itself was in the hands of the Romanist Poles in 1610). They thus in their blindness presented to the Papacy an enormous reserve fund of power, which has served it ever after : for whatever recoveries the Papacy has made since have been due — not to the peculiar doctrines of Romanism, not to the autocracy of the Pope, but to the fact that, in Western Christendom as a whole, men have believed that Catholic devotion and beauty in worship are a prerogative of the Papacy. As if the beauty of garments, or organs, or altars, or prayerful cathedrals, made by man, was more Popish than the beauty of the humblest flower which God has made !

Meanwhile in their theology many, both Conformists and Nonconformists, embraced the dark side of mediaeval teaching, which had been evolved from the worst part of the great Augustine's thought, and they developed it under the guise of Calvinism into a system which was an insult not only to the beauty but also to the goodness of Almighty God. They taught that God had predestinated the vast majority of mankind to the torture of never ending fire (how merciful the fires of Smithfield in comparison !), not for any fault of their own—for, said the Lambeth Articles of 1595, "God from eternity hath predestined some unto life and reprobated others unto death," and "It is not

placed within the will or power of every man to be saved."

To-day, Churchmen and Nonconformists alike repudiate this ghastliest of all human lies. At the very height of the Puritan reaction there were men like Milton who were not Calvinists—Milton was indeed an Arian, and not therefore orthodox from either point of view. But, none the less, Calvinism was the creed that was set up against the teaching of the Church; Calvinism was the creed of the Puritan party, though indeed men like Richard Baxter held it in a modified form; and it was the power of Calvinism that was to bring King Charles I and Archbishop Laud to the block. Yet with Calvinism there were identified many great and noble things, and the struggle of Puritanism against royal absolutism was in its measure a struggle for human freedom.

We must imagine ourselves therefore on the eve of the 17th century. Puritanism has been growing throughout Elizabeth's reign. The greatest men—Shakespeare, for instance—stood contemptuously aside from the "precisians," and the great Elizabethan era went its own way, worshipped its Queen, and admired its Prayer Book. But the middle class, brought up on Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Geneva Bible (p. 103), was largely Puritan; many of the bishops withstood the Queen in its interests as much as they dared—they had long since pulled down the altars. Its power was still to increase, and it was absorbing much that was strongest and best in England. Already some used the Prayer Book in a mutilated form: it was,



said the anonymous *First Admonition to Parliament*, which was attributed to the greatest of the Elizabethan Puritans, Thomas Cartwright, "an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that Popish dunghill, the Portuise [breviary] and Mass-book, full of all abominations." No one carried out in full the ceremonial directions of the English Church; and because the Ornaments Rubric was increasingly ignored, an attempt was made in 1566 by the issue of so-called "Advertisements" to secure at least the minimum of decency—the surplice, hood, and cope, with the frontal and fair linen for the holy Table.

At the present day the Anglican Church is the great standing witness in the West and in the new countries against the notion we have described—that devotion and beauty are a monopoly of the Churches in communion with Rome. It is for this reason that she is still so strenuously opposed from both sides. But her witness is to-day so evident because during the last two generations a movement, now practically universal in all parties, has been at work to revive the spirituality and beauty of worship,



M. THO: CARTWRIGHT.



by restoring in some measure the orders and ornaments of the Prayer Book—such orders, for instance, as those requiring daily services and frequent catechizing.

But in the 16th and 17th centuries all this was not possible. The most the Church could do was to fight



DARTMOUTH PARISH CHURCH.

Showing the magnificent pre-Reformation rood-screen and pulpit, with the rood restored.

hard for the very idea of liturgical worship, and for a few things that preserved the principle of ceremonial, modest as they were—such as the surplice, the cope in great churches, the cross in baptism, kneeling for communion, the organ, the vested altar, and the wedding ring.

7. . . . .  
 recalled  
 hostile

They misjudge the Church of England who blame her because many of her churches still lack much that is good, devout, and beautiful. If she had not taken in nearly all her sail once, she would not have come through the storms at all. She had to let secondary things go in order that she might preserve the essentials of that holy spirit of prayer which is the heritage of historic Christianity. Now that the civilized world has at least come to see the inward power and outward beauty of catholic worship, she is able to set her churches in order again ; and this is being done, not slowly.

### *Summary of Events*

- 1558. *November.* Accession of Elizabeth.
- 1559. *April.* **Third Prayer Book** and Third Act of Uniformity.
- 1560. First of many Additional Services issued.
- 1561. The Kalendar revised.
  - „ Day's "Partial Psalter," the *Old Version* (Sternhold and Hopkins), with some additional hymns, and the Queen's interim licence for private use.
- 1562. The Thirty Nine Articles.
  - „ The Pope withdraws his adherents from the Church services, and thus begins the schism between England and Rome.
  - „ Day's "Complete Psalter," the *Old Version* as above, in almost its final form, with the Queen's seven years licence for private use.
- 1566. The Advertisements enforce a minimum of decency.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS

11

1566. The *Old Litany*, as above, approved by the Queen, the Queen's licence, and allowed to be used by the people, in Churches, before and after Morning and Evening prayer : as also before and after the Sermon, and moreover in private houses.
1571. Second Book of Homilies.
1573. *March*. Accession of James I.

## CHAPTER 9

### *THE FOURTH PRAYER BOOK AND THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE*

A SUBJECT has many sides, and while we blame a party for its action on one side we may have to praise it for the good it wrought upon another. No praise can be too high for the Puritans in their zeal for the Bible as they understood it. Indeed the English Bible was and is the common ground of Anglicans and Nonconformists, the chief glory of the English Reformation. "For my part," Gladstone has written, "without going farther, I see in the free use of Scripture by the Christian people at large, not for controversy, nor for dogmatic accuracy, nor for the satisfaction of the understanding, but for its milk and meat, the food of the spirit—one undeniable object and fruit of the English Reformation."

Unfortunately we may not linger here for long in the consideration of this great subject, since we are only concerned in this History with the Bible as the rock from which the Prayer Book was hewn and upon which it stands. For the wider aspect of the matter let us be content with another extract—this time from a great German historian. Dr. Döllinger says:—"I believe we may credit one great superiority in England over



other countries to the circumstance that there the Holy Scripture is found in every house, as is the case nowhere else in the world. It is, so to speak, the good genius of the place, the protecting spirit of the domestic hearth and family."

So it is that when as historians we look back upon the past, we see good in both sides of the old controversies. It was the good indeed that made each party live ; for no party lives except for the good in it, and the evil is but lumber that it carries. Those who come after—some time after—are able to separate the good from the evil, and to possess all that is worthy, not from one side only, but from both. Thus the world does slowly grow in wisdom, learning to eschew what is evil and to hold fast what is good. We in this little History may well condemn the evil done by a small gang of robbers in the reign of Edward VI, the narrowness of Puritanism, the arrogance and bitterness of both sides ; but Puritanism destroyed for us ancient and deep-rooted evils, and helped us to win that freedom to-day which is the main hope of Christendom—the freedom to go back behind the traditions of men to the plain words and pure example of our Lord Jesus Christ.

#### THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

When James I came to the throne, the Puritans drew up a "Millenary Petition" for reform ; and as a result the Hampton Court Conference (1604) was held by the King, who loved disputations above all things. The familiar petty objections were raised to the cross in Baptism, to the square cap, and the surplice ("a kind of garment," said they, "which the priests of Isis

used to wear"); the wedding ring, the word "priest," bowing at the name of Jesus; the Puritans also disliked the Thirty-nine Articles as not sanctioning Calvinism; they desired that Baptism should never be ministered by women, that Confirmation should be taken away, and also the Churching of Women, that "examination" should go before Communion, that "the longsomeness of service" should be "abridged" and "Church songs and music moderated," that the Lord's Day should not be "profaned" (by the playing of games), that an uniformity of doctrine should be prescribed, and a few other things. Some of these requests (especially that for uniformity) were very bad indeed, and few would be defended to-day: even that against "longsomeness," we fear, was only to gain more room for sermons and extempore prayers that were more longsome still.

King James (who so loved an argument) enjoyed the Hampton Court Conference very much. He wrote afterwards that he had peppered the Puritans—in his own inimitable words—"We have kept such a revel with the Puritans here these two days as was never heard the like, quhaire I have peppered them as soundly . . . They fled me so from argument to argument without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*." Poor disputants! we can see James smiling and stammering his triumph at their courtly retreat. That retreat was not to be for long.

#### THE FOURTH PRAYER BOOK

In February, 1604, less than a month after the Hampton Court Conference, the Fourth or Jacobean Prayer Book was issued. It did not contain very

important alterations, and did little to satisfy the Puritans; but, unlike its two immediate predecessors, it had the direct sanction of Convocation, which in the new Canons of 1604 ordered it to be used.

The most important addition was the fifth part of the Catechism, that ample concluding section which so admirably defines the Sacraments; this is supposed to have been written by Dr. Overall. The Prayer for the Royal Family—which has often been felt since to increase the long-someness of Divine Service—was added, though only at the end of the Litany; and the Thanksgiv-



*Vera Effigies Reverendi in Christo  
Patris Dni. IOH. OVERALL  
Episcopi Norwicensis.*

DR. OVERALL.

One of the revisers of 1604, and of the translators of the Bible in 1607-11. He was afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

ings for Rain, Fair Weather, Plenty, Peace, Deliver-

ance from the Plague, were also put in. On the other hand, to please the Puritans who disapproved of the possibility of feminine ministrations, Private Baptism was restricted to a "lawful Minister" (a term which, strictly understood, does not exclude lay Baptism in case of necessity); the explanatory subtitle to Confirmation, "Or laying on of hands," etc. was added; and similarly to the title "The Absolution" were joined the words "or Remission of sins." The Puritans had demanded the abolition of all Lessons from the Apocrypha (some of which are of extreme value and beauty); and as a concession, the quaint history of Bel and the Dragon, and the much-loved romance of Tobit were given up.

In the same year the Canons of 1604, which had been drawn up by Convocation in 1603, received the sanction of the Crown. These Canons pronounced excommunication upon those, whether Puritans or Romanists, who "impugned" the Prayer Book or refused to use it, and they asserted the historical claim of the English Church to be a part of the Church Catholic. They affected our ritual by enforcing once again the Bidding Prayer before Sermons, and our ceremonial by enforcing the reverence at the name of Jesus, and certain minimum requirements of the Ornaments Rubric—the altar frontal and fair linen, the cope, surplice, hood, tippet (or scarf), and the square cap with cassock and gown, and tippet or hood, out of doors.

#### THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE

At the Hampton Court Conference, the learned leader of the Puritan party, Dr. Reynolds, proposed



a revision of the Bible. In doing so, he aimed at Puritanism—unconsciously, no doubt—the greatest blow it could possibly receive; for the very source and soil of it was the Geneva Bible of 1560 (known now to collectors as the Breeches Bible), which—printed in modern type instead of black letter—was the popular

version of the English people, and, being full of Calvinistic notes, and bound up with a Calvinistic Catechism, spread everywhere the tenets of the Genevan teacher. This fact could not have occurred to the Anglicans present, for the proposal to prepare a new version was ill received.

One man, however, took up the idea with enthusiasm, and this was the King himself, to whom the first credit of our English Bible is due. Was it that he alone had the shrewdness to see that the impracticable Bishops' Bible of 1568 could never supplant



KING JAMES I.

From a painting by Paul Van Somer, in the National Portrait Gallery.

the Geneva Bible, and that Puritanism would continue to spread unless an impartial version of the Scriptures was produced? It may well have been so; for we have James's own words as to his hatred of the Geneva Bible, with its "notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous

conceits." His scholar's instinct was aroused as well ; "for he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Geneva to be."

After the Conference was over, King James drew up a list of fifty-four divines. It is to be remarked that none of them were bishops at the time, though some were made bishops afterwards : the Authorized Version, in fact, owes its excellence to the common sense of the King in choosing his men for their learning and capacity, and not for their official position. This may seem a very obvious piece of wisdom : but it is to be noted that it has been forgotten in our hitherto unsuccessful twentieth century attempts at Prayer Book revision. King James's fifty-four divines were afterwards reduced to the "prodigiously learned and earnest persons, forty-seven in number," who, Carlyle says, gave us our version of that Book of Books, "which possesses this property, inclusive of all, add we, That it is written under the eye of the Eternal ; that it is of a sincerity like very Death, the truest utterance that ever came by alphabetic letters from the Soul of Man."

The English Bible like the English Prayer Book had had its baptism of blood. Men like Tyndale had been martyred for translating, printing, or circulating it ; and now, when the generation that had wept over Tyndale and Cranmer was gone, Englishmen, who should have been united in a common cause, were heading for civil war. Yet it was in this age of strife that the uniting spirit of the Bible for a while prevailed. Puritans and High Churchmen had the Scriptures in common, and did alike fervently believe in them : outside the rooms in

Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, where the forty-seven divines met, religious folk were maligning each other in brilliant, bitter, and abusive pamphlets; but within those learned conferences all hostilities were silenced, all differences ignored: men like Overall and the saintly Andrewes, on the one side, joined with Reynolds and Abbott on the other; and the forty-seven worked in such singular harmony that it is impossible even to distinguish between the three companies which worked in three different places: the Authorized Version of the Bible reads like the work of one great man.



LANCELOT ANDREWES.

One of the translators of the Bible. He was afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

The style varies indeed with the theme—the early history of the Jews and the later, or Job and Ecclesiastes, with their sublimities of poetry, or the concise Wisdom Books of the canonical Scriptures and the Apocrypha, the calls and aspirations of Isaiah, the tears of Jeremiah, the visions of Ezekiel, the preaching of the Minor Prophets, the narrative simplicity of the Gospels and Acts, or those “blazing passages in the Epistles, and the hues of sunset and eclipse that colour the Book of Revelation.” Yet through it all runs the constant music of what has been called the biblical cadence. The divines—who might have wrought a literary gem for the bookshelves of the learned, after the manner of the age that produced Donne and Milton, Burton and Sir Thomas Browne—threw aside the pedantries



and preciosities which were in fashion, and sat humbly at the feet of those predecessors who in peril of death had hewn out the words of life with such strength of simplicity ; and they produced a book which has been at once the comfort of the peasant and the model and inspiration of our greatest writers.

They were fine scholars. Scholars are not uncommon, and that was a very learned age. But it was also a great age of English literature : Shakespeare had just turned forty when King James appointed the Divines (it was the year of Othello, and two years after Hamlet) ; the second edition of Bacon's *Essays* was published a few months after those Divines had finished their work, and Milton was then in the fourth year of his precocious childhood. Now scholars are not generally masters of prose, and the combination of the critical and the constructive gift—of science and art—is almost unknown to-day, when learned translations and exact commentaries are common enough, but the majority of ancient books have still not been turned into English classics. The English Bible is an exception. We do not think of it as a translation at all : we think of it as the greatest of English classics, which, among other things, it is.

King James's forty-seven Divines, appointed in 1604, got to work in 1607, and produced the Authorized Version of the Bible in 1611. When we consider their work and the earlier masterly exemplars whom they followed, Wyclif, Tyndale, Coverdale, and the rest—when we contemplate the earnest courage, the humble faith, the perseverance of these men, and the undying majesty of their common offspring, we can only say that, if there is such a thing as the inspiration of the



Bible, there has also been such a thing as an inspiration of those who translated it.

And what is true of the English Bible is true also of the English Prayer Book. Scholars who won the consecration of martyrdom gave to it a like power of inspired translation, and endowed it with the magic of their prose. Thus it is that the one book worthy to be set side by side with the English Bible is that Book of Common Prayer, which has won a place in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon race second only to the Bible, and which day by day issues it forth in psalter and lectionary to the people.

*English Versions of the Bible.*

7th to 14th Centuries.

The Pioneers : Caedmon, Bede, Ælfric, and others (in Anglo-Saxon), Shoreham, Rolle, and others.

c. 1385.

Wyclif. Manuscript copies in Middle English, translated from the Latin.

(1476. Caxton introduces printing into England.)

1525.

Tyndale. New Testament, translated from the Greek. Also Pentateuch and Jonah, translated from the Hebrew.

1535.

Coverdale. The first complete printed Bible in English. Translated from the Latin and German, but based upon Tyndale.

1537.

Matthew's Bible. "Matthew" is a pseudonym, and perhaps stands for Tyndale.

1539.

The Great Bible. (See p. 40.) By Coverdale, based on "Matthew." The 2nd edition (1540) and the five subsequent editions (1540-1) have a preface by Cranmer. The Prayer Book Psalter is from this Version.

1539.

Taverner's Bible. Little circulation or influence. A revision of "Matthew."

1560.

The Geneva Bible. The popular household Bible for a century, i.e. for long after the A.V. of 1611, because a handy volume, in roman type, and divided into verses. Made by the Protestant exiles in Geneva, and thus Calvinistic (p. 103), but scholarly, and of great influence on the A.V.

1568.

The Bishops' Bible. A revision of the Great Bible by Archbishop Parker and other bishops. A cumbersome book and no rival to the Genevan Bible, but the basis of the A.V.

1609.

The Douai Bible. The Roman Catholic Version. The N.T. was published at Rheims in 1582, the O.T. at Douai in 1609. Closely follows the Latin.

1611.

**The Authorized Version.** Based on all previous translations, done by six committees, an O.T. and a N.T. committee at Westminster, Oxford and Cambridge.

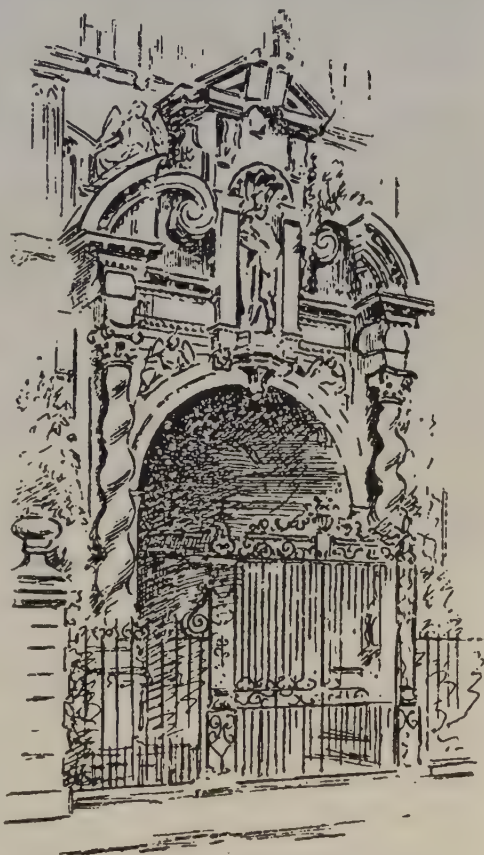
1881-5.

The Revised Version. Done by a joint committee of Churchmen and Nonconformists. Not content with the corrections required by modern scholarship, the committee hampered itself with bad rules and produced a version inferior to the A.V., though valuable for reference and study.

This chapter must end in gloom. In 1637 a Scottish Prayer Book, with many improvements and a few concessions to Puritan feeling, was printed at Edinburgh. Its most distinctive features were due to the Scottish bishops, Maxwell of Ross and Wedderburn of Dunblane. Charles I favoured and influenced it. Archbishop Laud had wished to introduce the English Book into Scotland, and the Puritan enemies of the Scottish Book succeeded in damaging the latter book by coupling Laud's name with it. This Scottish Book had afterwards considerable effect upon the last revision of the English in 1662, and was destined to give us the beautiful Scottish Liturgy and the Liturgy of the American Church. But its introduction in Scotland in 1637 was made the occasion of a riot, which was followed by the overthrow of Episcopacy, and so the book did not have a fair trial there.

In 1640 a new code of Canons was issued by Convocation, one of which enjoined bowing to the altar; but in the same year the Long Parliament met, and condemned the Canons—among other things. In 1645 Laud was brought to the block to be followed four years later by his royal master. On the day of Laud's arrest, March 1st, 1641, a committee was appointed

which demanded the abolition of altars, candlesticks, pictures and images, vestments, and the Ornaments Rubric by which they "are now commanded," and many Church ceremonies; but the destruction went further, and the ruined condition of our churches a century ago was far more due to the Puritan iconoclasts than even to the Edwardian robbers; the organs were burnt, the stained glass was smashed, the churches used to stable horses. We get some idea of what was done by the records of the egregious Will Dowsing, who was the agent of the Cromwellian government for smashing churches at 6s. 8d. each: he has left us the proud record of his doings in parish after parish, and even notes with disgust that at one place he got only 3s. 4d., because there were no more than "ten superstitious pictures and a cross" to be destroyed. This was at Hardwick, near Cambridge, in 1643. At the neighbouring village of Toft he expected more than his accustomed fee for a



THE PORCH AT THE UNIVERSITY  
CHURCH, OXFORD.

The responsibility for setting up the statue of the Virgin and Child over the porch was laid upon Laud as Chancellor, and was made one of the charges brought against him at his trial.



“purification” of the church rather heavier than usual, but was disappointed, and got “only 6s. 8d.” for destroying “twenty-seven superstitious pictures in the windows, ten others in stone [the beautiful alabaster reredos, fragments of which are still preserved in the church], three others in stone, three inscriptions, *Pray for the souls*, divers *Orate pro animabus* [*sic*] in the windows, and a bell *Ora pro anima Sancta Katharina*.” At Queens’, Cambridge, he tells us, “we beat down a 110 superstitious pictures, besides Chirubims”; at Peterhouse, “we pulled down two mighty great Angells with wings, and diverse other Angells, and the four Evangelists, and Peter with his Keies over the Chapell Dore, and about 100 Chirubims”; and the unhappy college authorities had to pay him themselves for ruining their chapels. It was only by some unknown private intervention (was it Milton himself who interceded with Cromwell?) that “the storied windows richly dight,” of King’s College Chapel were spared to be the wonder of succeeding ages; for it is on record that the Bursar of King’s paid the extra heavy fee for their destruction. These things need emphasizing; for the desolation of our churches until recent times is commonly supposed to have been due to the English Church. It was due to her enemies; and was caused, not by the Prayer Book system, but by the destruction of that system.

England lay under a military dictatorship which denied it the opportunity of telling its mind by a parliamentary election. Cromwell’s followers are often praised as the pioneers of freedom: it is more true to say that they were the destroyers of royal autocracy and of the hereditary divine right of kings; but beyond this they

did not secure freedom, nor in the case of the Church did they at all desire to allow it.

On January 3rd, 1645, the day of Laud's attainder, the Long Parliament by an Ordinance took away the Book of Common Prayer, and established in its place the Directory, a manual of directions for the meagre framework of Puritan worship.

On August 23rd, another Ordinance forbade the use of the Prayer Book, in any "public place of worship or in any private place or family," and fixed a penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third "one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize."



PURITAN ICONOCLASM.

From a contemporary print.

(One soldier is removing a cross and candlesticks from the altar, while others carry off a picture and hew down the communion rails.)

### *Summary of Events.*

- 1603. March. Accession of James I.
- 1604. January. Hampton Court Conference.
- February. The Fourth Prayer Book.
- 1603-4. The Canons of 1604.

1604. King James appoints the Divines to revise the English Bible.
1607. The six committees of Divines begin their work.
1611. **Authorized Version of the Bible.**
- 1634-60. Destruction of Church Ornaments, including stained glass windows.
1637. **Scottish Prayer Book introduced.**
1640. Canons of 1640.  
The Long Parliament meets.
1645. *January 3rd.* The Prayer Book abolished by an Ordinance, and the Directory established.  
*January 10th.* Execution of Laud.  
*August 23rd.* Use of the Prayer Book even in private made a penal offence.
1649. *January 30th.* Execution of King Charles I.
1660. Restoration of Church and King, of free Parliamentary government, and of the Prayer Book.

## CHAPTER 10

### *THE SAVOY CONFERENCE*

ENGLAND turned with shouts of joy from the rancour and violence of the Commonwealth, from the spiritual despotism of the Presbyterians and of the Independents who ousted them, and from the resulting distraction and impiety, to the Restoration of Church and King, and of free Parliamentary institutions. The year 1660 brought freedom of conscience to Churchmen—though, alas! they soon proceeded to revenge themselves by denying it to Nonconformists. So great was the demand for Prayer Books that, before 1660 had reached its close, five editions of the old Book were printed.

But the Prayer Book had not been revised since 1604, and many agreed at least in this—that a new revision was needed. It was the only point about which the two parties in the State did agree, as the Savoy Conference was soon to show. But first, while King Charles II was still in Holland, a company of Presbyterian divines went to the Hague with the Parliamentary deputation that was to bring Charles back (May 10, 1660), and asked that, as the Prayer Book had long been discontinued, the King should not use it when he landed. They also asked that his chaplains should give up using the surplice. The King replied with his usual keenness of wit, that he



would not be restrained himself when others had so much indulgence. But after he was come back the Puritans continued their pressure, and asked that the Prayer Book might be made like the liturgies of the Reformed Churches. There were nine Bishops still alive ; and they made



BISHOP COSIN.

the excellent reply that "the nearer both their forms and ours come to the liturgy of the ancient Greek and Latin Churches, the less are they liable to the objections of the common enemy." The King issued a declaration on October 25, 1660, promising a conference, and allowing freedom meanwhile.

On April 15, 1661, the Savoy Conference met : it consisted of twelve Bishops (including

John Cosin of Durham, Robert Sanderson of Lincoln, and Gilbert Sheldon of London), with nine coadjutors (including John Pearson (author of the famous *Exposition of the Creed*, afterwards Bishop of Chester), Peter Heylin, Peter Gunning, Anthony Sparrow, Herbert Thorndike, on the one side ; and on the other, twelve

Presbyterian Divines (including Richard Baxter, author of *The Saints' Rest*, and Edmund Calamy), with nine coadjutors.

We have not space here to reprint the "Exceptions" of the Ministers to the Book of Common Prayer, or the "Answer of the Bishops to the Exceptions": they are given in E. Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, and are well summarized in *Procter and Frere*. But they throw so valuable a light upon the great battle of the Prayer Book in the 17th century, upon its principles and those of its opponents, that the reader will be glad to have some of the more important Exceptions before him, with the Answers of the Bishops, which here are condensed and printed in italics.

One point emerges at once—the truth of Milton's epigram that Presbyter was but old Priest writ large. Some of the "Exceptions" are clerical autocracy writ very large indeed: the Puritans wished to give the minister power to refuse Baptism to a child, if he considered their parents to be heretical or notorious sinners. We may be thankful that the Bishops replied, *We think this to be very hard and uncharitable, and giving also too great and arbitrary a power*. Similarly they wished to give greater liberty to the minister in the Absolution (Visitation of the Sick), and the Bishops answered that the giving of absolution must not depend upon *the minister's pleasure*, but on the sick man's penitence. They also desired that the minister should be urged to use full power "both to admit and to keep from the Lord's Table." They further proposed to deprive the people of their share in the service—the repetitions and responses, the Kyries after the Commandments (the minister to say instead "a

suitable prayer" at the end), and the alternate reading of the Psalms and Hymns, declaring "the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their consent in the close, by saying *Amen*." It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that they desired the minister to face the people all through the service—an obtrusive piece of clericalism from which many denominations still suffer : to this the Bishops replied, *Not so*, and pointed out that in the ancient Church the minister always turned *with* the people when he acted as their spokesman.

The minister, thus exalted, must have the entire service in his own hands : the Puritan Divines, therefore, not only wished him to have discretion to "omit part" of the appointed service and substitute extempore prayer, but also they desired that the collects should be melted down into "one methodical and entire form of prayer composed out of many of them," and that the Litany should be changed "into one solemn prayer." Think of it—think that if the Bishops had given way in 1661, we should to-day go to church and find a frock-coated gentleman confronting us to say the whole Litany without a break as one solemn prayer, while we had no share but "with silence and reverence to attend thereunto" and to say "Amen" when he had finished !

The Ornaments Rubric was to be omitted, "forasmuch as this rubric seemeth to bring back the cope, albe, etc., and other vestments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5 and 6 Edw. VI" (the Second Book) ; to which the Bishops replied, *We think it fit that the rubric continue as it is*. The Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at Communion are objected to as "fountains of



evil"; the wedding-ring is to be optional. There is to be "nothing in the Liturgy which may seem to countenance the observation of Lent as a religious fast"; and



"F. WAS SUCH AS THIS REBEL, SMITH, TO BRING BACK."

(THE CONFERENCE, 1570.)

the "religious observation of saints' days . . . and the vigils thereof is to be omitted." The word "Sunday" was objected to, and not only "Priest," but even that most



harmless of words, "Curate." The Bishops replied to such criticisms as these by referring to *Catholic usage*, and to *a Custom of the Churches of God, agreeable to the Scripture and ancient*, and to *the Catholic consent of antiquity*.

The Puritan Divines also objected to those phrases in the Prayer Book which assume all the congregation "to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of grace": the Bishops replied by pointing to St. Paul's use of the word "saints." The Puritans objected also to the charitable assumptions of the Burial Service (*It is better to be charitable and hope the best*, said the Bishops), and asked for a rubric declaring that the prayers and exhortations are not for the benefit of the dead (the Bishops significantly ignored this). They also demanded a rubric allowing ministers not to go to the graveside unless they thought fit, to which the Bishops replied that, since this was not asked *for the ease of tender consciences, but of tender heads*, the desire may be helped by a cap better than a rubric. Bishops, indeed, were not afraid to be witty in those days, or to speak in homely fashion, as when they met the demand for omitting all Lessons from the Apocrypha by the remark, *It is heartily to be wished that sermons were as good*; for, said they, if nothing ought to be heard in church except the Old and New Testaments, then there would be no sermons either.

Very few of us at the present day, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, would agree with these objections, many of which were undeniably fractious and captious while others depended upon a theology now obsolete. It is a mercy, for instance, that the Bishops did not give way to the Puritan demand that "inheritors" in the Catechism should be altered to

“heirs”—thus making the Kingdom of Heaven a future hope instead of a present inheritance; and we may be glad the Bishops left the definition of a Sacrament broad, by refusing to put “Two only,” without the qualification “as generally necessary to salvation.” I think we may also be devoutly thankful that we are not fettered to-day by the insertion into the Catechism of the theories current in 1661 “concerning the nature of faith, repentance, the two covenants, justification, sanctification, adoption, and regeneration.”

Who, again, would now desire that Confirmation should not be administered by the Bishop, or that it should not be assumed in that service that the children brought have the Christian spirit and the forgiveness of their sins? Who would now desire to omit the mention of godparents at Baptism or Confirmation? Who would like the minister to have power, if he chose, not to deliver the Sacrament to each communicant individually? Who could bear to see the simple ornaments and ceremonies already mentioned—the surplice, for instance, or kneeling for communion—abolished?

Of course some of the Puritan criticisms were good, and some were accepted by the Bishops and their coadjutors. They agreed to print the Epistles and Gospels according to the Authorized Version; to add to the rubric “The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle”; to give a longer time for notice by the communicants, altering “over night, or else in the morning” to “at least some time the day before”; to add the manual acts to the Consecration in the Communion Service (the Puritans had rightly pointed out that the breaking of the bread was not so much as

mentioned); to add (and this was also an improvement) to the rubric after Confirmation the words "or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." Besides these things, they agreed to alter in the Marriage Service "with my body I thee worship" to "with my body I thee honour," though fortunately this was not done; but they did alter "till death us depart" to "till death us do part." The Bishops further agreed to add the preface ("prefixed by God himself," the Puritans had said) to the Commandments, but fortunately this also was not done; and to omit from the Burial Service the epithets "in *sure and certain* hope of Resurrection to eternal life"; but very mercifully this was taken back also, the sense being guarded by the insertion of the definite article.

We may summarize the position by two quotations.

The Puritan Divines said:—

"To load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism to the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest, and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or of church pomp, of garments, or prescribed gestures, of imagery, of musick, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into the Church under the name of *order* and *decency*, did interpose itself. To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition." "If the special guides and fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of encumbering



churches with superfluities, or not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there would be far less cause of schism, or superstition."

The Bishops said :

"It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a Liturgy as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly except against."

"For preserving of the Churches' peace we know no better nor more efficacious way than our set Liturgy; there being no such way to keep us from schism, as to speak all the same thing, according to the Apostle. This experience of former and latter times hath taught us;

when the Liturgy was duly observed we lived in peace; since that was laid aside there hath been as many modes and fashions of public worship as fancies." "If we do not observe that golden rule of the venerable Council



"LET ANCIENT CUSTOMS PREVAIL."

(The altar of St. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, at the present day.)



of Nice, 'Let ancient customs prevail,' till reason plainly requires the contrary, we shall give offence to sober Christians by a causeless departure from Catholic usage, and a greater advantage to enemies of our Church, than our brethren, I hope, would willingly grant."

In many things the Churchmen of that age were in the wrong—they were especially to blame for the penal laws and the harrying of Dissenters, which it took generations and many acts of toleration to remove. But few scholars would now refuse to admit that their theology was broader, more Christian, because less tainted by Calvinism, and truer to the New Testament than that of their opponents; and in those liturgical matters with which this little history is concerned there is now no doubt that they were right and the Puritans wrong. Puritanism brought to England a noble stock of moral sturdiness; and the ecclesiastical descendants of those Dissenters whom the cruelty of the Clarendon Code put outside the pale of the law, are among the best of our people to-day; but those very descendants are themselves the surest witnesses to-day that the Churchmen were right in liturgical matters, for our modern Presbyterians and Nonconformists are steadily adopting the very phrases and customs and ornaments to which the saintly Richard Baxter and his colleagues so strangely objected.

After the Savoy Conference the last revision of the Prayer Book was put in hand, and our present Book of Common Prayer—the Fifth English Prayer Book—was produced. Like the Fourth Book, it had the sanction of Convocation—a more formal and thorough sanction than any of its predecessors. We shall express this

most briefly and clearly by a summary of these important events :—

1645. Prayer Book abolished and its use made penal.

1660. The Restoration.

*May 1st.* King Charles II issues the Declaration of Breda promising toleration.

*May 4th.* Parliamentary Deputation of Presbyterians to the King at the Hague.

*May 10th.* Prayer Book of 1604 used before the Lords on Thanksgiving Day.

*Oct. 25th.* Royal Declaration promising a Conference and the decision of “a national Synod.”

1661. *April 15th–July 24th.* The Savoy Conference.

*May 8th.* Convocation meets.

*July 9th.* Commons pass Bill of Uniformity.

*Nov. 20th.* Convocation appoints a Committee of Bishops to revise the Prayer Book.

*Dec. 20th.* **Fifth Prayer Book** completed, after discussion and amendment, and adopted by both houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York.

1662. *Feb. 25th.* Fifth Prayer Book annexed to the Bill of Uniformity, but without discussion or amendment in either house.

*April 9th.* Lords pass amended Bill of Uniformity.

*May 19th.* The Bill receives the royal assent and becomes the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

It is sometimes said as a jibe against the Prayer Book that it is part of an Act of Parliament. So it is, and so are the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms of David, and so might anything be. The above summary shows that, though Parliament chose to adopt the Church's Prayer Book

(which was an honour to both), to annex it to an Act of Uniformity, thus giving it civil sanction, and (most regrettably) to enforce it with pains and penalties, our present Prayer Book was not one whit less the work of the Church, whose rights and liberties were most carefully safeguarded at every stage. The troublous century which we call the Reformation Period began with tyranny and oppression, but it ended with the establishment of constitutionalism in 1662 ; and the royalist Parliament which enforced the settlement, did at least represent the people.

The more is it to be regretted that this Parliament refused the promised toleration to the Puritans, who now from being Nonconformist Churchmen became Dissenters, their worship forbidden by the Conventicle Act of 1664 under a final penalty of transportation, their extremer ministers refused permission to come within five miles of a town by the Five Mile Act of 1665, and their conscientious members debarred, in common with Papists, from all civil, military and naval office by the Test Act of 1673. There was, however, some excuse for a Parliament composed mainly of country squires, who had many of them come back to their native villages at the Restoration, to find the church smashed, the trees felled, and the home of their ancestors destroyed. The Puritan ministers also, who were ejected, were, after all, themselves intruders ; for there had been a worse ejection of Anglicans before. Above all this, there loomed in men's minds the indelible memory of the martyrdom of King Charles.

## CHAPTER 11

### *THE FIFTH ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK*

THE Savoy Conference came to an end in July, 1661 : before the Christmas of that year Convocation had completed the Fifth Prayer Book, which is the book we use to-day ; and the next year this was annexed to the Act of Uniformity. The preceding chapter has, we hope, shown the conditions under which the new Prayer Book was produced and the principles which actuated the revisers. These are stated with much clearness in the first of our present prefaces to the English Prayer Book, which was then added, and is called simply "The Preface."

"The Preface" was written by Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, and is divided into five paragraphs:—1. A description of the previous revisions : in the often misquoted phrase, they had been meant "to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation." The loose way in which the word "Liturgy" (properly a term for the Holy Communion) is used of the service as a whole, is a sign that liturgical knowledge is not what it had been a century before. 2. A sketch of those preliminaries to the present revision (the deputation to the king, etc.) which were described in our last



chapter. The harsh tone of a triumphant party will be noticed in the Bishop's phrases. 3. The standard by which proposed changes were accepted or rejected, with a proviso that the Book of 1604 contained nothing



Vera Effigies Reverendi in Christo  
Patris Dñi:  
**ROBERTI SANDERSON**  
EPLISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS.

BISHOP SANDERSON.

contrary to the Word of God. Here is another famous and important sentence: — "We have rejected all such as were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some established doctrine, or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain." 4. A description of the changes introduced, beginning with a statement that they were not made "to gratify this or that party in any their unreasonable demands." 5. An expres-

sion of the hope that these changes (though unwelcome to "men of factious, peevish, and perverse spirits") will be approved by "all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England."

## THE PRINCIPAL CHANGES

The changes described in this Preface are—1. (DIRECTIONS) for the better direction of the officiant, 2. (VERBAL) the alteration of obsolete phrases, 3. (SCRIPTURE) the use of the Authorized Version, especially for the Epistles and Gospels, 4. (ADDITIONS) some new prayers and thanksgivings, especially for use at Sea and an order for the Baptism of Adults.

These alterations are about 600 in number. Let us endeavour to summarize the more important under the four heads just mentioned.

## 1. DIRECTIONS.

*Mattins and Evensong.* The Five Prayers (including the “state prayers”) which had previously been appended to the Litany, were added to the Divine Service. They had been better left where they were. The rubric concerning them also mentions the Anthem, “in Quires and Places where they sing”: the Anthem had not been mentioned in the earlier Prayer Books, but the Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559 had authorized “an hymn or such like song” at this place, which was then the end of the service.

*Holy Communion.* After the Creed the old rubric had merely ordered a Sermon or Homily, and then (*after* the Sermon) the curate was to give notice of Holy-days and Fasting-days, to exhort the people to remember the poor and to read one or more of the sentences. The rubrics which we now have were taken from the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, as was that after the sentences, ordering the priest to place the Bread and Wine on the Table.

The rubric before the Consecration ("When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered," etc.) was added, and also the direction for the Fraction and other Manual Acts, heretofore left to tradition. The very questionable rubric providing for a second consecration by the mere repetition of the Words of Institution was reinserted. The two rubrics were added ordering that what remains of the Sacrament after the Communion shall be covered with a linen veil, and afterwards reverently consumed.

*Confirmation.* The first part of the rubric "To the end that Confirmation," etc. was made into the Preface. The Catechism (with which the Order of Confirmation had begun) was now printed separately; and in its stead was inserted the Bishop's question—"Do ye here . . . renew the solemn promise," etc.

*Marriage.* A form was added for publishing Banns. The rubric after the Blessing "Then shall begin the Communion," was omitted, and the concluding direction that the new-married persons "must" receive the Communion was altered. *Visitation of the Sick.* The words "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special Confession of his sins, if," etc., were substituted for "Here shall the sick person make a special confession, if," etc.; and the words "if he humbly and heartily desire it" were added. The rubrics also for the Communion were made clearer. *Burial.* The rubric about the excommunicate, etc., was added. Psalms 116 and 139 had been given in the First Book, but since the Second Book there had been none: now Psalms 39 and 90 were given—but the selection might have been better. The Lesson instead of being said at the



graveside was wisely ordered to be read in Church. The name of the departed person was omitted from the prayer, "Almighty God, with whom." *Churching*. Psalms 116 and 127 were substituted for Psalm 121. The *Communion* was ordered to be used on Ash Wednesday.

## 2. VERBAL ALTERATIONS.

The more important were : In Divine Service and in the Liturgy, "priest" was substituted for "minister" at the Absolution. In the *Litany* the words "rebellion" and "schism" were significantly added in the Deprecations ; and in the Intercessions, "Bishops, pastors, and ministers" was altered to "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." In several places the word "congregation" was changed to "church." "Forsake" was well changed to "renounce" in the Baptismal Vow. In the Ordinal, Cosin's translation of the *Veni Creator*, "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," was added to the other, which, if it was originally by Cranmer, proves the truth of his confession that "mine English verses want the grace and facility that I could wish they had."

## 3. SCRIPTURE.

The *Epistles and Gospels* were taken from the Authorized Version of 1611 (the Gospels for the Sunday after Christmas, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday being shortened, the first by the omission of the Genealogy). The Easter Day Anthems were also enlarged, "Christ our Passover" and the *Gloria* being added. But the *Psalter* was left in the words of the Great Bible of 1540,



which were endeared to the people ; the Decalogue also was left ; and the Offertory Sentences and Comfortable Words, which are an independent version, were left unaltered.

#### 4. ADDITIONS.

Excellent additions were made in the *Prayers and Thanksgivings*—the two Ember Prayers, the Prayer for



DR. PETER GUNNING.

The author of the Prayer for all Conditions of Men.  
He was afterwards Bishop of Ely, as in this portrait.

Parliament, the Prayer for All Conditions, the General Thanksgiving, and the Thanksgiving for Public Peace. With the exception of the last, which was topical, these are among the best known and loved of all our prayers.

Three *Collects* were changed, and a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel added for Epiphany 6, giving us four of the very finest collects in the

book—those for Advent 3, St. Stephen, Epiphany 6, and Easter Even. The Epistle for the Purification was

added. In the *Communion Service*, two additions were made to the Church Militant Prayer. To "accept our alms" was added "and oblations"; and the commemoration of the departed, "And we also bless thy holy Name," etc., was put in at the end. The Black Rubric (removed in 1559) was put back, but with the crucial alteration of "real and essential presence" to "corporal presence."

The service for the *Baptism of Adults* (a less successful effort) was added, as "The Preface" explains, owing to "the growth of Anabaptism," and also to the newly-felt need of "the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith." Here, then, we have the first sign of the revival of the missionary spirit—though mainly in the "plantations," that is the colonies—after a lapse of about six centuries, during which very little had been done. To all the Baptismal Services was added the Vow of Obedience, "Wilt thou then obediently keep," etc.; and thus they were brought into line with the Catechism.

To the *Visitation of the Sick* (which ought to have been more radically improved) the Commendation, "Unto God's gracious mercy," etc., was added; and also the four concluding Occasional Prayers, beautiful but overweighted. The *Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea* were added: these too are overweighted, but are hardly beautiful.

*The Ordinal.* The reader will have noticed that few concessions were made to the Puritans, but that on the contrary many things distasteful to them were inserted. In the most significant place of all, the Ordinal, this is specially apparent. In the old form for the Consecra-

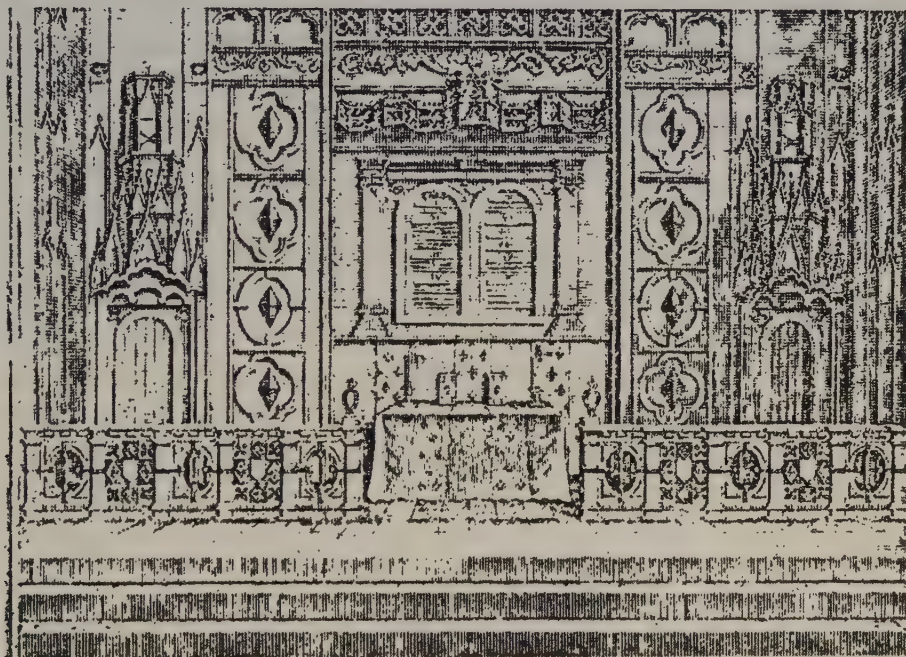
tion of a Bishop, "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up," etc., were inserted the words "for the Office and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God," so as to make it indisputably clear to the public that a Bishop's office is other than that of a Presbyter. Similarly in the Ordering of Priests, before the words "Whose sins," etc., was added "for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands." The old forms were perfectly good and had ancient precedent; but the additions were made in order to avoid misunderstanding.

It should be mentioned here that in 1662 two more State Services were drawn up by Convocation, those for King Charles the Martyr and for the Restoration, and were added to the Accession Service (Elizabeth's had been made in 1576, and Charles I's in 1626), and to that for Gunpowder Treason, which was altered. These State Services were then annexed to the Prayer Book by the sanction of the Crown and Convocation, and were subsequently enjoined by Royal Proclamation at the beginning of each reign. In 1859, on the petition of Convocation and Parliament, three were revoked, the Accession Service remaining. This last was revised in 1901 and again in 1910; and on June 23rd, 1910, the new form was ordered by Royal Proclamation to be annexed to the Book of Common Prayer and used yearly on the 6th of May. The fine Prayer for Unity was, till these last revisions, the latest composition within the covers of the Prayer Book, having been added at the accession of George I.

The State Services of 1662 are largely modelled



upon that for "Powder Treason," which in its turn reflects the verbose Elizabethan type of special service ; and they illustrate the bad side of the period. The prayers indeed have the magnificence of their age, and are full of fine passages ; but they are not constructed



THE HIGH ALTAR, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

In the 17th century.

The altar has a frontal and dorsal with orphreys embroidered with fleurs-de-lys ; on it are the Gospeller's and Epistoler's Books, and two candles.

on sound liturgical lines, and as a consequence will not bear comparison with the prayers of the Prayer Book itself for beauty, conciseness, or simplicity. They are also full of political opinion, their loyalty is expressed in extravagant terms, and they confide to Almighty God their denunciations of "violent and bloodthirsty men,"



“bloody enemies,” “sons of Belial, as on this day, to imbrue their hands in the blood of thine Anointed,” “the unnatural Rebellion, Usurpation, and Tyranny of ungodly and cruel men”—using for preference four words where one would have been too much.

This is magnificent, but it is not peace. Now, when we remember that these State Services (with additions in subsequent reigns) were cheerfully used throughout the country for nearly two centuries, we can understand the accompanying decline in the English Church. The Church of a party could not be the Church of a people; nor could a Church, which did nothing to supply in her Services the growing needs of succeeding ages, fail as time went on to alienate large sections of religious men.

Professor A. F. Pollard has recently written this verdict:—“While the State grew more comprehensive, the Church grew more exclusive. It was not that, after 1662, it seriously narrowed its formulas or doctrines; but it failed to enlarge them, and a larger proportion of Englishmen thus found themselves outside its pale.” The Church could not indeed have reduced her Catholic heritage, for such negative action would have narrowed instead of enlarging her borders. But acts of comprehension would have been possible in many directions, had the authorities been alive to the need; and it is true that, beyond the alteration in 1865 of the form of clerical subscription to the Articles, almost nothing was done to meet the needs of the times during the two centuries and a half which have elapsed since the Restoration.

The reader may verify the truth of this statement by testing it according to his own predilections. The bareness of our churches has been the chief recruit of

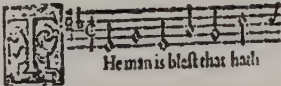
Romanism, our liturgical stiffness, of Dissent. He may be most impressed by one of these facts ; or he may be among those who feel that many who love the Church most intelligently and sincerely have been alienated from her by the pressing of a Sixteenth Century standard of theology upon the Twentieth. Or again, he may be more impressed by the fact that the poverty of our Visitation of the Sick has driven many thousands into faith-healing sects, and the inadequacy of the Burial Service has caused others to seek comfort in Spiritism.

One thing has saved the Church from far worse desertions—has enabled her against heavy odds to emerge from the stagnation of the 18th century, and has made the Evangelical and Catholic Revivals possible—the growth of Post-Reformation hymnody. This began with the *Old Version* of Metrical Psalms (Sternhold 1548, 1549 ; Sternhold and Hopkins, 1551, 1559, 1561 ; Day's Complete Psalter, 1562). After a long life, Sternhold and Hopkins gave place to the *New Version* Tate and Brady, ("allowed by the King in Council," 1696), with its *Supplement* (1698). The Supplement in its earliest known edition (1699) includes "While shepherds watched," in 1782 "Hark, the herald Angels," and in 1807 the Easter Hymn with a few others. Hymnody developed greatly in the 18th century through the prolific genius of Isaac Watts, and Charles Wesley, in especial ; and, in the 19th gave us, with hundreds of other hymnals, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the *Hymnal Companion*, and *Church Hymns*, to be followed in the present century by new editions of the older books and by the *English Hymnal*. We have only to imagine our Sunday services deprived of

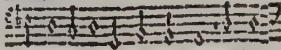
# THE PSALMES OF DAVID in Metre.

Textus. PSAL. I. T. S.

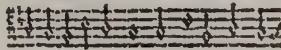
The Psalm is set forth as a perfecter exhort all godly men  
to duty and meditation in solitude for they  
believe that as it does but the wicked condemn it thereby,  
as long as shall come to misery,



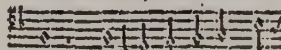
He man is blest that hath



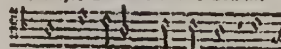
not bent to wicked rede his care nor led



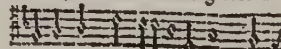
his life as sinners doe, nor sat in scorners



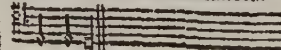
chairs, &c. But in the law of God the



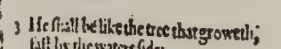
Lord, doth set his whole delight: And



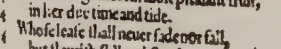
in that law doth exercise his life both



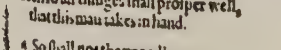
day and night.



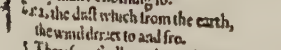
3 He shall be like the tree that groweth;



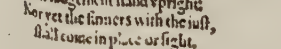
fast by the waters side;



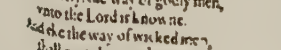
Which bringeth forth most pleasant fruit;



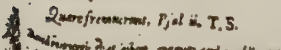
in her due time and tide.



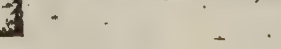
Whose leafe shall never fade nor fall;



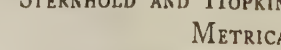
but flourish still and stand:



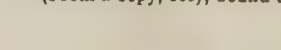
Even so all things shall prosper well,



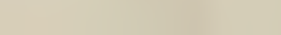
that this man takes in hand.



4 So shall not the ungodly men,



they shall ken nothing for:



as the dust which from the earth,



the wind disperet to and fro.



5 Therefore shall not the wicked men



in judgment stand upright;



nor yet the sinners with the iust,



shall come in place or sight.



6 For why the way of godly men,



voto the Lord is knowne.



And the way of wicked men,



shall quite be overthrowne.



Quere from whence, Psal. 11. T. S.



And in verse that above corners and angles prove



that from such advances he by degrees comes to the further

end of the world. Therefore he exhortes Princes how  
they should themselves be like unto him. He is firm  
and cleave and has long time.

Sing this as the first Psalm.

**V**hy did the Gentiles tumult raise  
what rage was in their brain?  
Why did the Jewish people mule,  
seeing all is but vaine.

2 The Kings and Rulers of the earth,  
confound and dwell bent;  
Against the Lord and Christ his sonne,  
which he amongst vs sent.

3 Shall we be bound to them lay they  
let all their bonds be broke;  
And of their doctrine and then law,  
let vs loose to the yoke.

4 But he that in the heauen dwelleth,  
their doings will deride;  
And make them all as smoking flacks,  
throughout the world to ride.

5 For in his wrath the Lord will lay,  
to them upon a day;  
And in his fury will he them,  
and then the Lord will say.

6 I have anointed him my King;  
upon my holy hill;  
I will therefore the Lord preach in thy law,  
and eke declare they will.

7 For in this wise I - I call him the  
child say to me I were;

Thou art my deare and onely sonne,  
to day I thee begot.

8 All people I will give to thee,  
as heires at thy request;  
The ends and coasts of all the earth;  
by thee shall be posselt.

9 Thou shalt them brule even with a mace,  
as men vnder loote trode;  
And as the potters theardes shall breake  
them with an iron rod.

10 Now ye O Kings and Rulers all,  
be wise therefore and leaue;  
By whom the matters of the world,  
be iudged and discerned,

11 See that yee serue the Lord above,  
in trembling and in feare;  
See that with reverence yee reioice,  
to him like runner.

12 See that yee kille and eke embrace;  
his blessed sonne I say;  
Left in his wrath yee so dauntly,  
perish in the undrway.

13 If once his wrath neuer so small,  
shall kinde in his breast  
Oh then all they that trust in Christ,  
shall

A 2

shall

“STERNHOLD AND HOPKINS.” THE OLD VERSION OF  
METRICAL PSALMS.

(From a copy, 1607, bound up with a James I Prayer Book.)



hymnody's profuse additions to realize how large an element it has become in public worship, and how much it has done to defend the Church from narrowness. By God's mercy the English Church, since the disappearance of Tate and Brady, has been saved from the frozen mediocrity of an authorized hymnal; and thus hymnody has grown in its charitable comprehensiveness, has steadily if slowly improved in words and music, and has won for itself a place deep in the heart of the people. Hymns have broken many fetters, and can keep a Church abreast of the age.

The other happenings in England since 1662 have been of less importance. There was an



FRONTISPIECE OF CROUCH'S *Divine Banquet*, 1696.

(Showing priest, communicants, and altar of the period.)



attempt at revision in the reign of William III, happily abortive ; and additional services, rare in the Georgian era, have been since increased, especially during recent years (see p. 50). In 1871, the Lectionary was revised, and a great opportunity was missed, so that a new revision of the Lectionary is to-day by far the most urgent liturgical need of our Church. Another great opportunity was lost at the same time, when in 1872 the Shortened Services Act was drawn up by men ignorant of liturgical principles, bringing in some confusion and effecting little except to reduce the obligation of saying "Dearly beloved brethren."

At the present day the Church is better equipped ; and sooner or later there will be a revision. The whole future of the English Church depends upon whether that revision shall be not only skilful in its liturgical science and noble in its art, but shall be also Christian in its charitable inclusiveness, not fearing freedom because there is freedom in Dissent, nor beauty because there is beauty in the rest of Christendom ; so that the Church, no longer encumbered by the armour of obsolete warfare, shall be simple in her teaching as the Gospels are simple, and pure in heart as they are pure.

#### LAST SUMMARY

- 1661. *Dec. 20th.* Convocation adopts the **Fifth English Prayer Book.**
- 1662. *May 19th.* Act of Uniformity. Issue of *Fifth English Prayer Book.*
- 1689. (William III.) Attempted Revision of the Prayer Book.
- 1694. Isaac Watts begins writing his hymns.

## 140 THE FIFTH ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

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1696. The "*New Version*" of Metrical Psalms (Tate and Brady), published with authorization of the King in Council.
1698. First Edition of *The Supplement* to the New Version.
1722. The *Liturgy* of 1637 revived in Scotland.
1737. John Wesley publishes first hymn-book for use in the English Church, at Charlestown, Georgia.
1760. Madan's Hymnal, followed by a few others.
1764. **Scottish Liturgy**, the received text.
1786. Bishop Seabury's Communion Service for his diocese of Connecticut.
1789. **The American Prayer Book** (revised in subsequent years, and in 1892).
- 1801-20. Forty-two new hymnals published.
1833. Ten new hymnals published this year.
1852. J. M. Neale's *Hymnal Noted*.
1861. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.
1870. Bishop Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion*.
1871. *Church Hymns*.
1871. **The New Lectionary**.
1877. **The Irish Prayer Book**.
1879. Attempted Revision, "The Convocation Prayer Book."
1906. *The English Hymnal*.
- 1901, 1910. Revisions of Accession Service.
1912. **Scottish Prayer Book**. Including the Scottish Liturgy, slightly revised, and many additions to and deviations from the English Prayer Book.

PART III

*THE SERVICES IN THE PRAYER  
BOOK*





## CHAPTER 12

### *MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER*

THIS "Everyman's History" would be unfaithful to its modest purpose if it tried to offer the general reader a complete account of the development of our services; since such an account would necessarily be full of those complicated technicalities which make liturgiology a forbidding science even to many who are deeply interested in the devotional and artistic aspects of public worship. We must therefore be content with the main outlines, and with these only in so far as they concern the intelligent worshipper of to-day.

The great thing is that every man, woman, and child should realize the distinct character of the services in which we take part. This is where the old-fashioned type of service failed; and it failed because the proper ceremonial had receded from it, and people had come to regard the Sunday morning service of Mattins, Litany, Ante-Communion, Sermon, and Hymns as one long and rather formless "liturgy." They did appreciate its devotional beauty. Let me quote what the saintly Evangelical leader, Charles Simeon, said about a hundred years ago:—

"I am never nearer to God than I often am in the reading-desk." "As for the Liturgy, no com-

mendation can be too great for it. . . . If a whole assembly were addressing God in the spirit of the Liturgy, as well as in the words, there would be nothing to compare with such a spectacle on the face of the earth ; it would approximate more to heaven than anything of the kind that was ever seen in the world."

If the Evangelical Revival deepened men's sense of this heavenliness of worship, the Tractarian and the Liturgical Revivals, which followed in their turn upon it, have spread the devotional spirit far and wide by showing the beauty and intelligibility of our services. The best and truest parts of these three movements are with us still, purified and strengthened by the work of many who were called Broad Churchmen, and of others, like Maurice, who stood outside the party divisions of the 19th century. The Liturgical Revival helped men to escape from formalism by making the ceremonial itself answer the question, "What mean ye by this service?" It drew men together to the Divine Presence ; it quickened their spirits by beauty of form, colour, and movement, by sweetness of sound and scent, by making, in fact, the work of God in the Church less unworthy of the work of God in the woods and meadows outside ; it taught them by that simple directness of appeal which visible ceremonial makes, uniting all hearts in a common emotion of thankfulness and praise, in a common thrill of worship and devotion.

We have had, indeed, during the last century a great recovery of the art of prayer, of common and united prayer ; and that is why the so-called High and Low Church parties of the Victorian era are coming

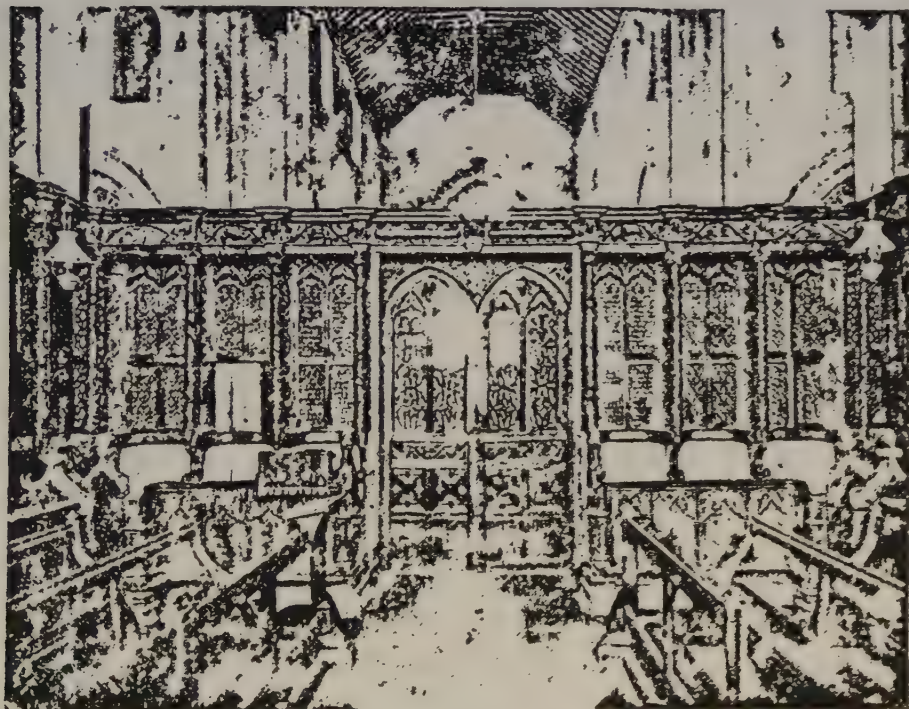
together again, each giving up some of its defects, and both merging in the ideal of an evangelical worship carried out with liturgical perfection.

Thus Churchmen as a whole are gradually learning to take a real and understanding part in our various services, not regarding them as a uniform "liturgy," performed at the reading-desk, but entering into the spirit of each solemn act of praise or prayer, as each is made clear by its appointed ceremonial. Thus, to mention the most fundamental point, the different services are held in different places; and have each its own character clearly stamped upon it. The Holy Communion is a great action done solemnly at the altar. Baptism is a service of admission, done at the font near the church door; the Marriage rite is the Christian blessing of the affianced pair, leading them from the body of the church to the Lord's Table; the Communion begins with warning from the pulpit and concludes with penitence when the priest and clerks kneel amidst the people in the nave; the Litany is a special intercession, sung in winding procession through the aisles, to culminate at the chancel-step, or said quietly at a kneeling-desk outside the screen. But Mattins and Evensong are said or sung within the choir, the congregation itself being there accommodated when there is room. They are thus choir services, and have a different character and object from the rest.

What is this character of the Divine Service, as the choir offices are called? It is the daily reading and hearing of Holy Scripture—primarily the recitation of the Psalter, accompanied by prayer and by meditation upon the teaching of the Bible.



This is admirably described in the preface, "*Concerning the Service* [that is the Divine Service] *of the Church*," which states that the English Church set herself to restore "this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers," by arranging that the whole Bible should be



THE CHOIR OF CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH.

(A pre-reformation screen with returned stalls, remade in the 17th century.)

read through at the daily services, once in the year, and the Psalter continuously recited once a month; for the ancient Fathers had intended "that the Clergy . . . should (by often reading, and meditation in God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and



to confute them that were adversaries to the truth; and further, that the people (by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion." It is then evident that the Divine Service is a daily and not a special Sunday service; and that one of the chief objects of the Reformers is frustrated unless it is said regularly every day.

This character of the Divine Service takes us far back to the origins of set "Hours" of worship. We find that Daniel (vi. 10) was in the habit of praying three times a day. The Psalmist speaks in the 119th Psalm of midnight prayers—"At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee"—of prayers before daybreak—"Early in the morning do I cry unto thee," and "Mine eyes prevent the night watches." He also uses the words, "Seven times a day do I praise thee"; but, although this was applied to the Seven Canonical Hours of the Christian Church later on, we must remember that the Jews used the sacred number merely to suggest frequency or iteration, as in the phrase "purified seven times in the fire" of the 12th Psalm.

In the Acts of the Apostles we find that the first Christians were like Daniel in observing three set hours of prayer. Pentecost, we read in the 2nd chapter, was at the Third Hour; and a picture is given further on of the faithful "day by day continuing stedfastly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home," which means probably that they went to the Temple for their "hours," and had the Eucharist in

the house of one of the brethren. In the 3rd chapter we read of Peter and John "going up into the Temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour"; and in the 10th chapter, Cornelius and St. Peter see their visions when praying alone at the 9th and 6th hours respectively. Here, then, are three set hours of prayer, corresponding with the Terce, Sext, and None, of later ages—the Third Hour of the day (Terce), at 9 a.m.; the Sixth Hour (Sext), at noon; and the Ninth Hour (None), at 3 p.m.

We know that these three hours were continued by the early Church; and they are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian (c. 200 A.D.) as a recognized custom. They were at first a matter of private devotion, but gradually public services were instituted. The first, probably, of these was the Saturday night service, kept as a vigil or preparation for the Sunday Eucharist, of which we see the beginning in St. Paul's midnight service at Troas (*Acts* xx. 7–11). In this connexion it is worth recalling that many English bishops' charges in the 17th century lay stress on the Saturday Even-song, which at the present day some churches are restoring as a sung service at 8.15 or 8.30 p.m.—for it is found in practice that there is no better way of preparing for the Lord's Day. In early times this Saturday service was in theory one that lasted all night (as it actually did on Easter Even), and it is still called the All-night Service in Russia and Greece; but in practice it was generally divided into two—one at lamp-lighting and one at cock-crow—with bedtime in between.

We can only sketch in outline here the development of the primitive hours of private or family prayer into

the public order of Divine Service, as Christendom grew more numerous and churches increased. The cock-crow service was extended to other holy days besides Sundays by about A.D. 200, and consisted of Psalms, Lessons, and Prayers. The Saturday night services became a daily Vespers, and by about the year 300 daily Mattins and Evensong (as we should now call them) were a recognized institution. The *Pilgrimage of Silvia* (or *Etheria*), written c. A.D. 385, gives an interesting descrip-



CHURCH AT TAFF' KHA.

A very early Christian Church at Taff' Kha, in Syria (perhaps of the third century, and the oldest in the world).

tion of the nocturnal service held daily in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, telling how sets of priests and deacons said prayers between the alternate canticles and psalms with

their antiphons, among the monks, virgins, and lay folk, till the bishop came at daybreak for the Eucharist (if *missa* here means the Eucharist); and how other services were held, at the Sixth, Ninth, and Tenth Hours.

It was not, however, till about A.D. 400 that the "Little Hours" of Terce, Sext, and None had generally developed from private prayers into public services. By about A.D. 500 (keeping to round numbers for the sake of simplicity), the monks of the West had added two more services—one on rising from bed, called Prime,



which was followed by the daily meeting of the Chapter (the business meeting of the monks); the other before going to bed, called Compline, that is the *completion* of the day.

Thus, although in Egypt and other places the monks were still content with the primitive services at lamp-lighting and cock-crow, the monks of the West set themselves to carry out the literal (though not the real) meaning of the Psalmist's words, "Seven times a day will I praise thee." There were in fact eight Hours or Choir Services altogether, which were said at seven different times, the night service of Mattins and the dawn-service of Lauds being said together. They may be set down thus:—

NIGHT SERVICE	{ <i>Cock-crow</i> :	3. Nocturns (later called Mattins).	
DAWN SERVICE	{ <i>Sunrise</i> :	4. Lauds (followed directly after Nocturns).	
	{ <i>On rising</i> :	5. Prime.	
DAY SERVICES	{ 9 a.m. :	6. Terce	} The Little Hours.
	{ Noon :	7. Sext	
	{ 3 p.m. :	8. None	
EVENING SERVICES	{ <i>Sunset</i> :	1. Vespers (called Evensong in England).	
	{ <i>Bed-time</i> :	2. Compline.	

These were the services as they were written down at Rome about the 6th century and adopted in England and many other countries. They consisted almost entirely of portions of the Scriptures: the Psalter was said through each week (not each month only as in our Prayer Book), and there was a regular system



of Lessons from the Old and the New Testament. Here was in fact the "godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers," to which our English Reformers turned for their ideal. With the exception that some Lessons were taken from the Fathers, the only additions to the Bible portions were themselves mainly shorter Scriptural passages: these were the familiar opening Versicles and Responses ("O Lord, open thou," &c.), Responds (appropriate chants sung after the Lessons), Antiphons (appropriate chants, at first after every verse, and later before and after whole Psalms and Canticles); and lastly the *Kyries* and Lord's Prayer with the *Preces* or Suffrages, which formed a little Litany, surviving in our *Kyries*, Lord's Prayer, and the Versicles and Responses, "O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us," etc.

These eight Hours of the Divine Service in the 8th century were in three groups, as in the following tables. For convenience we add—in small type and square brackets—the main additions of the Mediaeval Breviary, which will be mentioned next:—

# I. NOCTURNS (MATTINS).

[Lord's Prayer.]

"O Lord, open thou," etc.

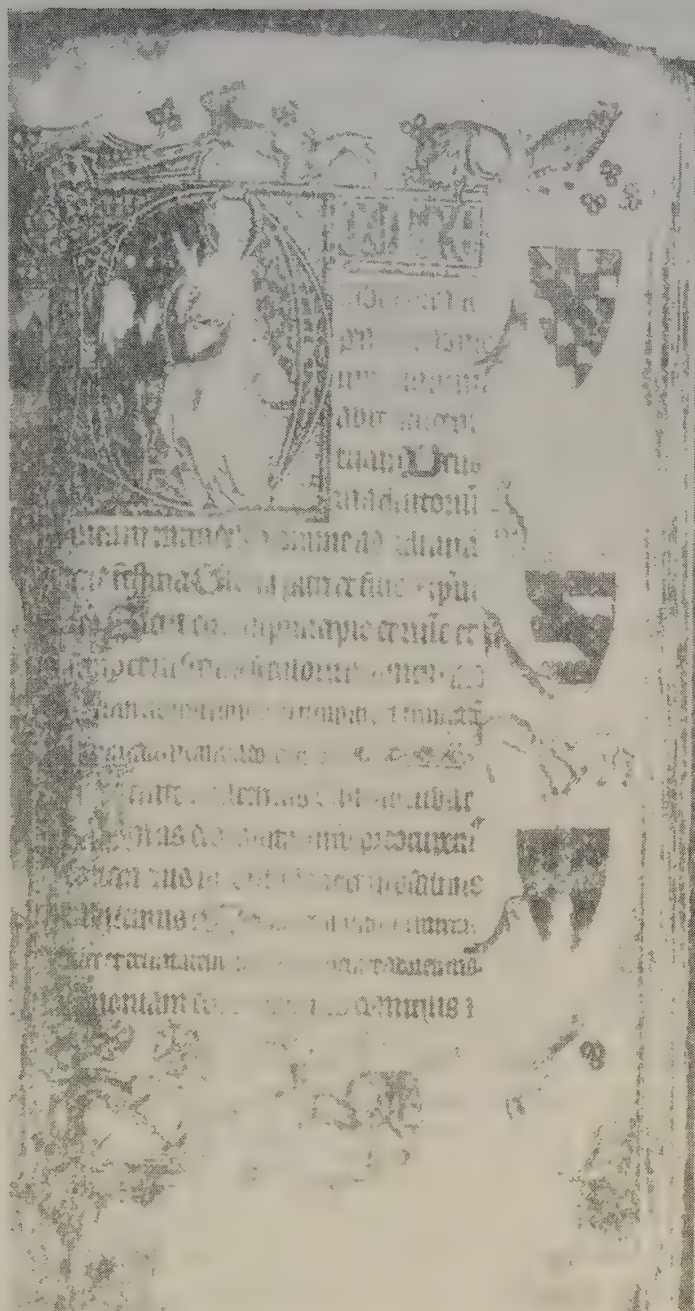
*Venite*, with Invitatory.

[Metrical Hymn.]

The Nocturn	{	Psalms, with Antiphons.
		7. and 8. Lord's Prayer [Creed].
		3 Lessons with Responds.

(On Sundays, 3 Nocturns, having in all 18 Psalms and 9 Lessons. On Festivals, 9 Lessons with fewer Psalms.)

[On Festivals, *Te Deum*.]



# "DAMNABILI MEMORIE."

90 Derby Road, London, W. 12. The above is a copy of the  
 100th Anniversary of the death of the late Lord of the Manor of  
 Book of Hours, 1791.

## II. LAUDS, AND VESPERS (EVENSONG).

[Lord's Prayer.]

"O God, make speed," etc.

5 Psalms, with Antiphons.

Short Lesson.

[Metrical Hymn.]

Canticle (at Lauds, *Benedictus* : at Vespers, *Magnificat*),  
with Antiphon.

*Kyries* and Lord's Prayer (ferial).

Suffrages (ferial).

[Collect of Day.]

## III. THE THREE LITTLE HOURS OF TERCE, SEXT, AND NONE.

These were like Lauds and Evensong, but there were only three Psalms (three parts of Ps. 119, for each of the three Little Hours) and no Canticle.

[The Office Hymn was placed before the Psalms, and was invariable.]

## PRIME AND COMPLINE.

These form a subsidiary group, and may be classed with Groups III and II.

PRIME followed Group III in having three invariable Psalms and no Canticle.

[The Prime Office Hymn followed Group III in position and invariableness.]

COMPLINE was like Group II, but had four invariable Psalms : the Canticle was *Nunc Dimittis*.

[The Compline Office Hymn followed Group II in position and variableness.]

Our next point of time is about A.D. 1250, when the revised Hours of the Breviary (p. 44) began to come into use, mainly through the Franciscans. The principal changes in structure were the addition of the Lord's



CLERKS CHANTING DIVINE SERVICE.

They wear copes over their surplices: the MS. service-book is on a large lectern. (From an early 15th cent. MS.)

Prayer at the beginning of each service, and of prayers at the end. Metrical hymns—Office Hymns as they are called—had been adopted from the Benedictines. The *Te Deum* had been put into Mattins for festival use; and the Athanasian Creed had been inserted in Prime;

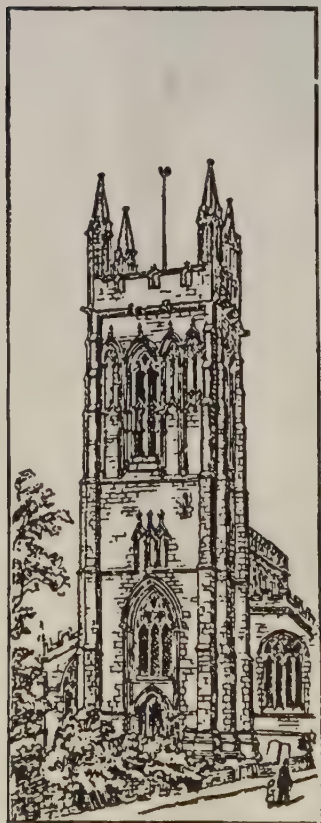


memorials and collects of Saints were added at the end of some Hours. Later, the *Ave Maria* came also to be added, though not uniformly. The changes in substance were for the worse and of the most serious character: the Bible Lessons were reduced, and Lessons from apocryphal

stories of the Saints were multiplied.

The decadence continued, as we have explained on pp. 34 and 41; though indeed we have to remember that

in other respects this period was beyond praise; to it we owe the matchless churches of Mediaeval Christendom—churches that were loved and frequented by rich and poor alike—full of prayer, and furnished by the people with a faultless sense of beauty. By the time of the Reformation the legendary



A VILLAGE CHURCH.  
WHISSENDINE, OAKHAM.



A VILLAGE CHURCH.  
LONG SUTTON, Lincs.

element was so bad that "to lie like a second nocturn" became a proverb; and the services—besides being said at inappropriate hours in a language not understood by the people—were in a state of such extraordinary complication that, as the Preface says, "many times there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was found out."

But this was not all. To the long and intricate Hours yet more was added in the Middle Ages: Commemorations were multiplied; and it became the custom to say or sing in addition a Little Service of our Lady and the Service of the Dead. To these were sometimes added the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, not to mention the Rosary and other private devotions. Obviously this gradual accretion of services had become for many a burden too great to bear. The result was irreverence and neglect. At Exeter, for instance, in 1330, we read of the clerks beguiling the time by pouring wax from their candles on to the shaven heads of those in the lower stalls; and in some cathedrals the canons used to come in at the beginning of service, bow, and walk out again.

The result of all this was the Reformation. So says Cranmer's preface to the Prayer Book, *Concerning the Service of the Church*, which was written before 1549. In place of the Psalter being only recited in part and the Bible read in unintelligent fragments, in place of the "legends," which really were legends—"some . . . untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious"—in place of the confusion caused by the "number and hardness of the rules called the Pie," the Divine Service was restored to a "language and order"





“much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers.”

How this was done is familiar to every church-goer ; and we have already described, in chapters 5 to 11, the general history of the reform.

We can best show how the old services were combined into our present Mattins and Evensong by the following tables. We must, however, bear in mind that such combination was not an innovation in principle : outside the monasteries, the clergy did not attempt to pray seven times a day, and had made two services out of the eight, calling the first six by the general name of Mattins, and the last two (Evensong and Compline) by the general name of Evensong—thus forming a very lengthy and complicated Morning and Evening Prayer.

We have also to remember that the English Service has *lost* the Office Hymn, Antiphons, and the Responds to the Lessons—the loss of the Office Hymn having been afterwards made good by Hymn-books ; and has *gained* enormously by the whole Psalter being said “in course” for the Psalms, and the whole Bible being read “in course,” in place of the mere snippets which had formed the Lessons of the later Middle Ages.

#### PRAYER BOOK EVENSONG.

(COMPOSED IN 1549 OF THE SARUM EVENSONG  
AND COMPLINE.)

*The Sarum Evensong is printed in  
Clarendon type,*

*The Sarum Compline in CAPITALS.*

ADDED LATER.

Lord's Prayer.  
O God, make speed, etc.

Sentences, Exhortn., Confessn., Absolution., 2nd P.B., also “O



Glory be, etc.

Psalms [Antiphons omitted].

Lesson.

[Office Hymn omitted.]

Canticle, Magnificat.

LESSON.

CANTICLE, NUNC DIMITTIS.

KYRIES (Creed added here in 1st P. B.)

AND LORD'S PRAYER.

[Confession, etc., omitted.]

SUFFRAGES.

Collect of Day.

Other Collects.

Lord, open Thou "  
(from Mattins). (*There  
had been a Confessn. and  
Absoln. at Compline.*)

(Omission supplied  
by Hymn Books.)

Alternatives to Can-  
ticles, 2nd P. B.

Creed placed before  
Kyries, 2nd P. B.

Anthem, and the  
Five Prayers. 5th P. B.,  
1661. (*An anthem,  
e.g. "Salve Regina,"  
had often been sung after  
Compline in the pre-  
Reformation period.*)

# PRAYER BOOK MATTINS.

(COMPOSED IN 1549 OF THE SARUM MATTINS  
AND LAUDS.)

*The Sarum Mattins is printed in*

**Clarendon type.**

*The Sarum Lauds in CAPITALS.*

ADDED LATER.

Lord's Prayer.

O Lord, open thou, etc.

O God, make speed, etc.

Glory be, etc.

Canticle, Venite [Invitatory  
omitted].

Sentences, Exhor-  
tn., Confessn., Abso-  
ln., 2nd P. B. (*There  
had been a Confn. and  
Absolution at Prime.*)

[Office Hymn omitted.]

**Psalm** [Antiphons omitted].

**Lesson** [Instead of Groups of Lessons with Responds].

**Canticle, Te Deum** [on Festivals in Sarum use],

or

**CANTICLE, BENEDICITE** [on Sundays, with Antiphon, in Sarum use].

**LESSON.**

**CANTICLE, BENEDICTUS** [Antiphon omitted].

*Kyries* (from Prime).

**Creed** (Prime).

**Lord's Prayer** (Prime).

**SUFFRAGES.**

**COLLECT.**

**OTHER COLLECTS.**

(This omission supplied many times over by Hymn Books.)

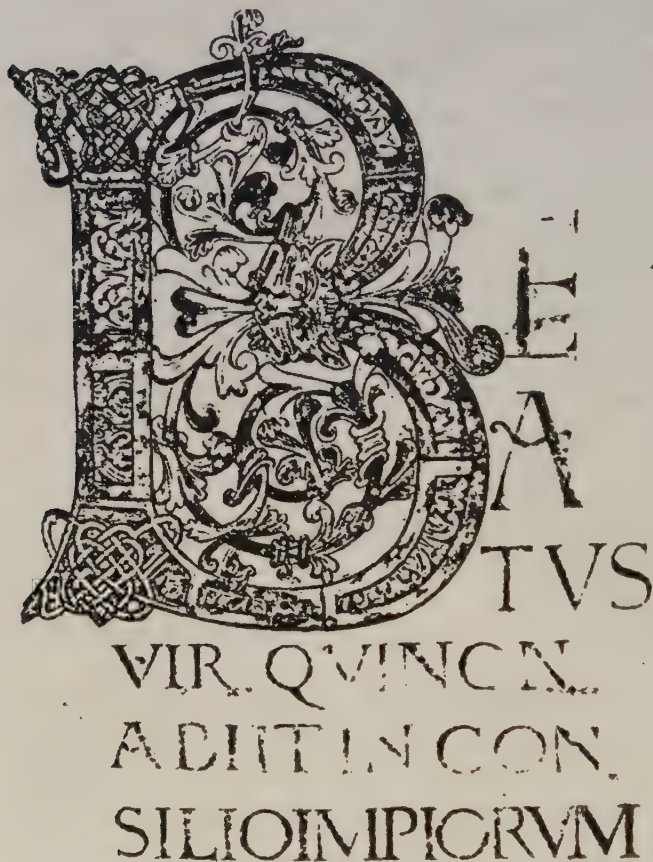
Alternative Canticle,  
*2nd P.B.*

Creed placed here,  
*2nd P.B.*

Anthem and the  
Five Prayers, *5th P.B.*

This, then, is the character of the Divine Service. There are a few prayers in it, or added to it, but in the main it is a service of Psalm and Canticle, of singing and Bible-reading. The Psalter is indeed the very essence of the Service, and has been, as we have seen, ever since the Christian Church sprang from the loins of the Jewish. Mattins and Evensong are Bible Services; for the prayers and metrical hymns are but additions to the solid basis of Holy Scripture, while the sermon and extra hymns added to the Prayer Book service after Sunday Evensong (and in many churches after Mattins also) are merely a popular addition, and form no part of the Prayer Book order.

The Divine Service of the Anglican Communion is not incapable of improvement: the Lectionary, for in-



THE OPENING WORDS OF THE PSALTER.

"Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum." "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly." From a Psalter, written at Winchester, probably in the time of Bishop Æthelwold, 963-84.

stance, needs thorough revision; all the service before "O Lord, open thou our lips" should be removed, and we need a better system of intercession after the Third Collect; but the action of the Reformers has had one remarkable justification. The Divine Service has retained its hold upon the affections of the people, as it has done in no other part of the Catholic Church. Indeed, it is often said that Mattins and Evensong are too

sa iheronimi pben. Veb  
 loco intelligimus. Sup  
 cuglini sui mthm. De  
 fineto herode. Et pter  
 capm la. i. ad bn. et o  
 nent que dir de domica  
 in omnibus sic bunnis  
 de. Alii tibi domine qui  
 natus es de uirgine. Et ei

tantur in tono rmmor:  
 namantans domi. Idue  
 fperas aia. Anteluciferum  
 cum reliquis de laudib.

ps. Dic dominus. cum  
 reliquis. in fine psalmus.

Laudate dominum. o. gto

**S**capitulum  
 vige illa  
 minare ille  
 nusaleni. qe

ment lnni tium: et gli  
 domini sup te oia. e. rme

Hosias herodes impie.

V. Reges transie et in file  
 munera offerent. R. Reges  
 arabum et sabbatona adhu  
 cent. Ad magnificat aia

Magnificentes stellam dnce  
 runt ad muncem. hoc signis  
 magni regis e. amms et iq  
 ramus cum: et offerimus a  
 munera. auribus rmmor.



ho  
 diem a die unigenitum tu  
 um genibus stella dnce  
 reuel. ista: ecce ppius:  
 ut qui iam te ex fide cog  
 iurmus: usque. to cōtem  
 plandam spem tue celsiti  
 dms pñcamur: Per  
 eundem. In epia. to m. a  
 tutum nō de. Domine

labia mea apies. nec. Deus  
 in adiutorium meum. s. ab  
 solute in ap exsonno. i.  
 offeret domino. ipm. an.

Annus impet ps Deus



A PAGE OF THE EVENSONG OF THE EPIPHANY.

(From a Franciscan Breviary, the finest 15th century Florentine work, done in the convent of S. Croce, shortly after the year 1482.)



popular, because so many people come to them on Sunday instead of to the Holy Communion. We must not put Mattins into a corner because of this, but must do what we can to make the Holy Communion better understood and loved ; so that the people may learn to emulate the zeal of their Mediaeval forefathers, whose practice was to keep the Lord's Day holy by attending "Mattins, Mass, and Evensong." They ought indeed to go together : Saturday Evensong (which is the First Evensong of Sunday) and Sunday Mattins are the proper preparation for the Sunday Eucharist ; and Sunday Evensong (which is the second Evensong) is the fit thanksgiving for it ; and this is why the Prayer Book appoints the same collect for Saturday Evensong and the three Sunday services. "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

For the Divine Service is an invaluable part of the Christian life, a great safeguard against distorted ideas and weak-minded devotions, a great instrument of sobriety, peace, intelligence, and depth in religion. It is a service of quiet and thoughtful worship, of meditation, of learning, remembering, and reflection. There is much rest in it, much time to ponder, and pray, and to relax in God from the strain of mundane life, spreading our souls out in the sunshine of heaven, drinking in the atmosphere of ancient holy deeds and thoughts, strengthening our inner life by the fellowship of the Common Prayer, and lifting up tranquil hearts in piety and thankfulness to the God of our fathers.

## CHAPTER 13

### *THE LITANY*

WE have the word "Litany" from the Greek, and "Rogation" from the Latin, but both words mean the same thing—a service of supplication, though the latter word is now restricted to the processions or other forms of supplication on the three Rogation Days before Ascension Day.

Litanies existed in the 4th century, or earlier, petitions, that is to say, followed by the Greek words, *Kyrie eleison* ("Lord have mercy"), and afterwards by other responses also. Before it came to be used as a separate service, this type of Litany was already in the Byzantine rite a prominent part of the Holy Communion Service: it still is so, and indeed what strikes the traveller most about the celebration of the Liturgy in Greece or Russia is the deep-voiced deacon, chanting the litanies on the foot-pace in front of the altar-screen, while the choir and people respond. These litanies are comparatively short, as can be seen by Everyman in two metrical translations, nos. 650 and 652 of the *English Hymnal*. In the West there was anciently a litany sung in procession to the church, a remnant of which is left in the ninefold *Kyrie* ("Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy," each repeated

thrice at the beginning of Mass), from which come our *Kyries* in the Decalogue ("Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law").

There was also a processional service, outside the Liturgy, and associated especially with penitence or particular emergencies. It was in fact what our out-door Rogation processions still are. St. Chrysostom introduced processions with responsorial singing through the streets of Constantinople in 398 as an antidote to the out-door services and processions of the Arians, who were excluded from the churches. These processions, which were very magnificent, with their silver crosses and wax-lights, had some free fights with the Arian processions (after the fashion still surviving in Liverpool and Ulster), and were so popular that they remained as a permanent institution. Thus litanies came to be established for times of plague, famine, earthquake, and other occasions of need. They soon reached the West, and in 477 Mamertus, Archbishop of Vienne in Gaul, ordered litanies to be sung on the three days before Ascension Day, because there had been a disastrous earthquake. From Vienne the custom spread over Gaul. There were also about the end of this century processions through Rome to supplant the old annual Pagan procession of prayer for the fruits of the earth on April 25th. Thus began the Rogation Procession, the parent of our English processional Litany.

This processional type of Litany consisted mainly of Antiphons. As the other type, the stationary dialogue of prayer, faded out of the Western Liturgies, its features were added to the processional type; and thus we have

the mediaeval Litany, a long dialogue of prayer, sung generally in procession.

So the Prayer Book Litany was at first often called



A PROCESSION IN TIME OF WAR, 15TH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Litany was sung in the choir of the cathedral, and the people followed in a procession, singing the Litany.

“the Procession,” whence we find the curious expression “singing the Procession upon their knees.” There was in old England a procession round the church to the



high altar, before Mass, on Sundays and Holy-days ; there were also processions of this kind at dedications, and after Evensong to the rood, or to the font, or to the altar of a saint ; and in Lent a stationary litany was said every day, all kneeling, after Terce.

Meanwhile the emergency use of processions continued. It was natural that in times of need the service of supplication should pass outside the church, and that the clerks should wend their way through the streets which were threatened by war or ravaged by pestilence or famine. On great days other processions would be carried out in much magnificence, the King and Queen with splendid heralds and officers, and mitred bishops, taking their part with the ranks of clergy and people, who proceeded through the lovely gabled streets of a mediaeval city to some old church, grey without and jewelled with colour and lights within ; and here a sermon would be preached and Mass said. The ordinary Rogation procession was, however, very simple, and the priest did not, according to the Sarum Processional, wear a cope.

In 1544 (as we have said on p. 57) Cranmer produced the English Litany, which was the first instalment of the Prayer Book, and which most people consider to be the finest form of prayer in our language. It combines the principal features common to all the old litanies : part is from the Sarum Litany in time of war (England was at war in that year) : another part from the Sarum Litany on Rogation Monday, and another part from a German Litany by Luther. The English Litany was first (in 1544) ordered as a special supplication for Wednesdays and Fridays, in view of the French

and Scottish wars ; in 1545 by royal injunction it superseded the old Procession before Mass ; and in 1549 it was ordered to be used always Wednesdays and Fridays. It was equally suitable for stationary and for processional use, and for special or for ordinary occasions :



PROCESSION TO A TOMB. (A TRANSLATION.)

(An 11th century painting at S. Clemente, Rome. Bishop (in albe and chasuble with pallium and mitre), and priests on the left : body of St. Cyril, with four clerks (in albes and tunics) carrying candles in centre : bishop celebrating, with a deacon (in dalmatic), at altar on right.)

thus it was ordered to be said "immediately before the time of communion of the Sacrament," in 1559, when it was also appointed for the "perambulation of the circuits of parishes" on the Rogation Days. The Rogationtide processional use of the Litany is frequently mentioned in the bishops' visitation articles of the 17th century, so that the idea of the double use was well established.

We may add a word here about processions in general. They have naturally been always used for utilitarian purposes, as, for instance, when a body was carried to the tomb, or when candidates were brought to the font. They also have a place as special acts of prayer and praise. Until 1549 processions of the latter sort were sung before the Eucharist on festivals, especially the different versions of *Salve festa dies* ("Hail thee, festival day," the examples in the *English Hymnal* being nos. 624, 628, 630, 634); the First Prayer Book has a rubric allowing for some such substitution, and Cranmer had made some experimental translations of festival processions, but was dissatisfied with his skill in verse (p. 130). Thus in the Prayer Book the only processions specifically ordered besides the Litany are that to the font for Baptism after the Second Lesson (for which no words are provided), that to the holy Table at Weddings (for which two psalms are provided), and the two connected with the Burial of the Dead, for the first of which Sentences are given. In the 19th century the Hymn Books supplied the want, and processions (largely regarded at first as a cheerful way of entering church, and devoid of stations for prayer) became very popular on festivals. Other processions, however, were in use before the modern popular revival, as those for Rogationtide, mentioned above, for instance, or that shown on p. 170; and at the coronation of a sovereign there is a procession of special magnificence in Westminster Abbey. Within the last twenty years the use of the Litany in procession on ordinary Sundays has been revived, and has spread



steadily. Churchmen, however, were still very shy about proceeding out of doors, and did very little in this direction till the Salvation Army and the Church



PROCESSION OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER, WITH CLERGY AND CHORISTERS. (see p. xiv).

From Ashmole's *Infilan* ii. 160.

Army had familiarized the whole Empire with the idea. Now, Rogation and other out-door perambulations are increasing each year, and in 1911 a conspicuous new departure was made by the Bishop of London's Evangelistic Council, which organized an enormous procession down the Strand.



We can explain the origin and structure of the Litany in tabular form, first reminding the reader that the Mediaeval litanies (as far back as Anglo-Saxon times) contained many invocations of the Saints after the opening invocation of the Holy Trinity, each having the refrain "*Ora pro nobis.*" Cranmer, in 1544, reduced these invocations to three—(1) Saint Mary, (2) the Angels, and (3) "All holy patriarchs, and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, *Pray for us.*" These were omitted in 1549 from the First Prayer Book.

## I. THE INVOCATIONS.

### SOURCES.

*O God the Father,*" . . . concluding with the petition *Remember not, Lord* . . .

Litanies in general.  
Sarum Antiphon to  
Penitential Psalms.

*Spare us, good Lord.*

## II. THE SUFFRAGES.

### 1. The Deprecations (against evil).

*From all evil* . . . to . . . *Word and Commandment.*

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

### 2. The "Obsecrations" (entreaties that we may be delivered by the power of Christ).

*By the mystery* . . . to . . . *day of judgement.*

*Good Lord, deliver us.*

Various ancient sources : Sarum Processional (Litany for Rogation Monday),—with some parts (especially the Intercessions after *unity, peace, and concord*) from a mediaeval litany revised by Luther.

## 3. The Intercessions

SOURCES.

(for others).

*We sinners do beseech . . . to . . .  
turn their hearts.*

As above.

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

## 4. The Two Supplications .

(for ourselves).

*That it may please . . . kindly fruits  
of the earth . . . to according to thy  
holy Word.*

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

III. THE KYRIE AND THE  
LORD'S PRAYER.

## Invocations.

*Son of God . . . to O Christ, hear  
us.*

Litanies in general.

## Kyrie.

*Lord, have mercy upon us . . .*

## Lord's Prayer.

*Our Father . . .*

## Concluding V. R. and Collect.

*Priest. O Lord, deal not . . .*

*Let us pray. O God, merciful  
Father . . .*

## IV. THE SECOND LITANY

## Processional Anthem with

## Psalm verse.

*O Lord, arise . . . to*

*As it was in the beginning . . .*

Sarum Mass for  
those in trouble of  
heart: also in Luther's  
Litany.

The *Exsurge*, a usual  
beginning of a proces-  
sion. (Sarum, etc.)

Versicles.

*From our enemies . . . to  
graciously bear us, O Lord Christ.*

Concluding V.R. and Prayers.

Priest. *O Lord, let thy mercy . . .*

*Let us pray. We humbly beseech . . .*

Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

The Grace.

SOURCES.

Sarum Litany in  
time of war.

Sarum Breviary,  
Lauds, Prime, and  
Compline.

Sarum Litany for  
Rogation Wednesday.

From the Liturgy  
of St. Chrysostom.

2 Cor. xiii and Lit-  
urgy of St. Chrysostom.



BISHOP COSIN'S LITANY DESK.

(At Durham Cathedral, with his  
coat of arms.)

The Prayer of St. Chrysostom is taken from the Eastern Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, where it is said (as in that of St. Basil) by the priest during the deacon's litany in the first part of the Liturgy. It was translated by Cranmer for the English Litany, being thus by him intended to be used in its original Eucharistic connection ; and it therefore belongs properly to the Litany, and not to the Divine Service. It was not till the last Revision in 1662 that it was placed at the end of Mattins and Evensong, a mistaken proceeding which suggests a certain poverty of invention.

Thus the Prayer Book Litany, while it combines the two original objects of processions—prayer against evils and dangers, and prayer for the fruits of the earth—greatly extends the realm of intercession, stretching out those touching and melodious phrases, which are now of the very marrow of the English language, to all human needs, dangers, sorrows, aspirations, and efforts towards perfection, and ending with the two beautiful supplications in which the people turn at length to pray for their own necessities. In contrast to the weak and selfish spirit of many popular modern devotions, we think proudly of the English Litany, and have a right to be proud of it ; for we can turn to the whole world, Christian and otherwise, and say, “ This is how we pray, this is how we are taught to think of life and death, of God and man ; and this is a service we really use, a popular service, known and loved and understood by all.” We are indeed brought to the mysteries of the Eucharist through a noble gate, through the preparation of that generous, unselfish, and humble intercession for the human race which the Litany has given us ; and it is our own fault if our religion falls behind the fullness of the Gospel of Christ.



## CHAPTER 14

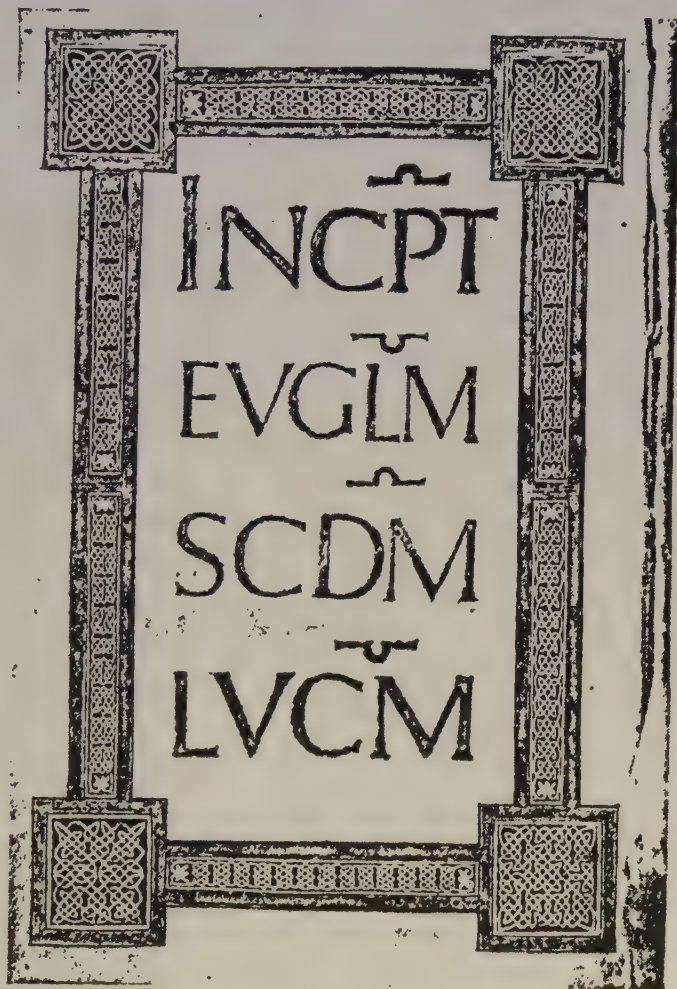
### *THE HOLY COMMUNION*

THE Holy Communion, besides being the central and distinctive Christian service, the holiest of Christian mysteries, the great sacrament of the Christian life, the simplest and most profound, the subtlest and most popular of all acts of worship, is the only regular service instituted by Christ himself; or rather, we would say, it is all these things because it was of Christ's devising, and shares with the occasional service of Baptism (the other sacrament undoubtedly commanded by him) that quality of mingled plainness and profundity—of inexhaustible simplicity—which is characteristic of all his sayings and deeds, as indeed it is also characteristic of all the greatest things which we know of in the universe.

Our slight sketch in this chapter must therefore begin with the Institution of the Sacrament, as it is recorded by St. Matthew (xxvi. 26–28), St. Mark (xiv. 22–24), St. Luke (xxii. 19–20), and St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23–26). St. Matthew says :—

“Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins.”

We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that the disciples considered this a command to "break the bread" as a solemn service—"they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers" (*Acts* ii. 42), that this was done at home (*Acts* ii. 46), and on Sundays, "the first day of the week" (*Acts* xx. 7), very early, so as to enable them to go about their work in the non-Christian world, and that it was preceded at least on this occasion by a night vigil which included prayer and a sermon (*Acts* xx. 7). On Sunday also



THE TITLE OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

(A page from a 9th century Gospel Book.)

each was to "lay by him in store" for the poor (1 Cor. xvi. 2).

From St. Paul we learn further that this Eucharist was regarded as a showing forth of the Lord's death (1 Cor. xi. 26), that the bread which they broke was a communion of the Lord's body, the cup which they blessed a communion of the Lord's blood (1 Cor. x. 16), great harm being attributed to the "not discerning the Lord's body" (1 Cor. xi. 29). One liturgical fact seems to emerge—the people said "the *Amen*" after a "giving of thanks" (1 Cor. xiv. 16).

We thus find in the Apostolic Age a solemn weekly service, *the* service in fact of the Church, which was called the Breaking of the Bread. This service had a double character. It was in the first place a mystical sacrifice, a representation of the Sacrifice of Christ and participation in it (a showing forth of the Lord's death), and was thus called "the Sacrifice" by Justin Martyr, c. 150. It was in the second place a communion in the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ, and was thus early called "the Communion," following St. Paul's "Is it not a communion," etc. St. Paul's word "Eucharist," i.e. thanksgiving, though neither Eucharist nor Communion are used by him as actual titles of the service, was also applied to it very early, probably because it reproduced Christ's giving of thanks at the Last Supper. Pliny uses the word sacrament (A.D. 112), which he may have caught, without understanding, from the Christians, but in any case he uses it only as meaning an oath or pledge: ninety years later Tertullian speaks of the service as "the Sacrament." The late Latin for dismissal, *missa*, caused it to be called Missa or Mass in

the West, as early as 385, and in the East it is usually called the Liturgy, a name which originally was applied to any public service.

Connected with the Breaking of Bread was a social meal or love-feast, generally known as the Agapé, but called by St. Paul "a Lord's Supper" (see p. 29), a name sometimes applied in the Middle Ages to the Mass itself,

and often used by the Reformers. We should not know of this love-feast in the Apostolic Age at all, if it had not led to abuses—for often the commonest things are taken for granted and escape mention: these abuses of the Agapé on the part of greedy and intemperate persons are mentioned by St. Paul in 1 *Cor.* xi. 20-22, and also by other writers in 2 *Peter* ii. 13 (R.V.), and *Jude* 13 (R.V.). In Pliny's



THE GOURDON CHALICE.

A gold cup, the earliest chalice extant.  
The date is before A.D. 527.

account below, a "common meal of innocent food" is mentioned after the service; and it cannot well have been the Communion, because the Christians gave it up when ordered. Before 200 the Agapé proper had disappeared, being only continued as a charity-feast for the poor, and also as a funeral-feast after burials or requiem services, down to the 5th or 6th century. The idea survives in the blest bread which is still given



throughout the Eastern Church, which was also distributed in England up to the Reformation, and is retained as the *pain béni* in many French churches to-day. One could perhaps wish that a friendly meal on Sundays might be revived in the England of to-day. A social tea would not be abused by a race that has so long emerged from Paganism, and some such practical lesson of Christian fellowship is much needed.

The next account of the Eucharist is by Pliny, who, writing as a Pagan governor, sent from his province of Bithynia the following account to the Emperor Trajan, about the year 112. Unfortunately, this description has the vagueness inseparable from that of an outsider ; but it is precious, none the less, for its picture of the first steps of Christianity among a wild, brigand population :—

“They maintained that all their fault or error was this, that they had been accustomed on a fixed day to meet before dawn and sing antiphonally a hymn to Christ as to a god ; and that they bound themselves by a solemn pledge (*sacramento*), not for any crime, but to abstain from theft, brigandage, and adultery, to keep their word, and not to refuse to restore a deposit when demanded. After this was done, they dispersed and assembled again to share a common meal of innocent food ; and even this, they said, they had given up after I had issued the edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I prohibited the existence of clubs.”

A few years ago Wilpert made the intensely interesting discovery, on the walls of a chapel in the Roman catacomb of St. Priscilla, of a picture of the Eucharist,

dating from the same time (between A.D. 100 and 150). The picture is now called *Fractio Panis*, the Breaking of the Bread. The bishop or president (clad in the *pallium* of rank as well as the tunic) sits, in the act of breaking the bread, at one end of a table, round which five men (wearing tunics without the *pallium*) and one woman are also seated. The table is covered with a



THE HOLY COMMUNION IN THE 2ND CENTURY.

The *Fractio Panis* in the Catacomb of Priscilla.

linen cloth, and on it can be discerned a two-handled cup, and a plate with five small loaves. There is also a plate with two fishes—a usual symbol of Christ in this age, and mystically connected in these early catacomb pictures with the feeding of the Multitude, the Eucharist, and also with Baptism. Here, then, we have a picture of a primitive Eucharist, as it was actually celebrated in this underground chapel: the stone bench is still

there, and a small tomb, only large enough to hold the scanty relics of a martyr, though the stone over it, which must originally have been used as an altar, is now gone.

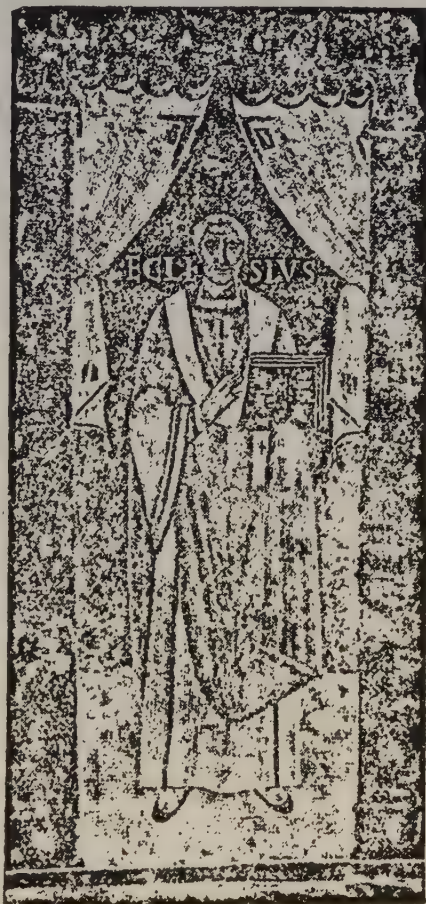
The next account is very important, since it gives us a clear outline of the service about the year 150. This was written by St. Justin Martyr in his *Apology* to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and is therefore couched in language intelligible to pagans, the bishop, for instance, being called "the president." We give it word for word, only breaking it up into sections, so as to show that the structure of the service was already settled in its main lines. The headings, of course, are not in the original. Side by side with Justin's outline we give the fuller account which Duchesne has gathered from Syrian writings of two centuries later, that is to say, when the days of persecution were over, and Christianity had been embraced by the Emperor Constantine and his successors.

Between the 2nd and the 4th century, of course, the rite developed; habits became fixed ceremonies, and custom defined more closely the limits within which the celebrant was to offer prayer, though the actual words were not generally fixed till a century or so later.

We do not know much about the Liturgy between these two dates, but a few points emerge. From Tertullian we learn that, about A.D. 200, the Service was celebrated before daybreak, as it had been in Pliny's time. The *Canons of Hippolytus*, probably about the middle of the 3rd century, tell us that (as we should expect from the early hour) the Communion was received fasting, and that the bishop, presbyters, and deacons wore



white garments "more beautiful than those of all the people, and as splendid as possible," and that the readers also wore festival garments: we also know that the garments then in common use included the dalmatic, paenula (the *phaelonien* of 2 Tim. iv. 13, called later the chasuble), and the pallium, so that the appearance of both clergy and congregation was much the same as in the pictures on p. 10 and on this page. We also learn that the Canon (to use another later name) began, as now, with the *Sursum Corda* ("The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. It is meet and right so to do"). These Canons also tell us that the Words of Administration were—"This is the body of Christ. This is the blood of Christ," the communicant responding in each case *Amen*. We also learn from them that the Offertory included gifts of corn, wine, and oil, over which a thanksgiving was said.



A 6TH CENTURY BISHOP.  
Mosaic of S. Ecclesius in dalmatic,  
paenula, and pallium.



JUSTIN MARTYR, c. 150.

I. LITURGY OF THE  
CATECHUMENS.

1. THE PREPARATION.

Lessons.

"On the day called Sunday, all those who live in the towns or in the country meet together; and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time allows.

Sermon.

"Then, when the reader has ended, the president addresses words of instruction and exhortation to imitate these good things.

II. LITURGY OF THE  
FAITHFUL.

2. THE OFFERTORY.

Prayer.

"Then we all stand up together and offer prayers. [In another

SYRIAN DOCUMENTS,

c. 350.

I. LITURGY OF THE  
CATECHUMENS.

1. THE PREPARATION.

Lessons.

Two Lessons are read from an ambo or pulpit, which stands near the middle of the church; another clerk then mounts the ambo and sings a Psalm. Other Lessons and Psalms follow, always ending with the Gospel, which is read by a priest or deacon, and during which all stand.

Sermons.

The priests preach, as many as wish, and after them the bishop. Their usual seats are round the apse, facing westwards, the bishop's seat in the middle immediately behind the altar, as on p. 27.

Dismissals and Litany.

Catechumens, the excommunicate, penitents, lunatics, are dismissed, the deacon (after silent prayer) saying litanies for them, and the faithful responding *Kyrie eleison*. All communicant Christians remain.

II. LITURGY OF THE  
FAITHFUL.

2. THE OFFERTORY.

Litany of Intercession and  
Prayer.

The deacon says the Litany for the world, the Church, the clergy,

place—‘in common for ourselves and for the illuminated [i.e. baptized] person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our work also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation.’]

### Kiss of Peace (here or later).

[In another part of his Apology, Justin speaks of the Kiss as between the Prayers and the Offertory—‘We salute one another with a kiss, when we have concluded the prayers.’]

### Oblation of the Elements.

“And when prayer is ended, bread is brought, and wine and water.

[In another place he writes of this: ‘Bread and a cup of wine mingled with water are then brought to the president of the brethren.’]

### 3. THE CANON.

#### Anaphora (Canon).

“And the president offers up prayers and thanksgivings alike with all his might.”

[It will be remembered that no details are given by Justin. The word “thanksgivings” above is *eucharistias* in the original Greek. It is used also

the sick, children, etc. : the people say *Kyrie eleison* after each petition. The bishop follows with a solemn prayer.

### Kiss of Peace.

The bishop kisses the other clergy : the men in the congregation kiss each other, and the women kiss each other.

### Oblation of the Elements.

Deacons guard the doors, and arrange the congregation, placing the children nearest the sanctuary. Others bring the bread and the chalices to the altar and place them there, two of them waving fans to keep away flies. The bishop washes his hands, and puts on his festal robes.

### 3. THE CANON.

#### Anaphora (Canon).

The bishop says the grace, making the sign of the cross.

*Sursum Corda* (“Lift up your hearts,” &c.).

*Preface and Sanctus*. First part of Eucharistical Prayer (now the

in the *Didaché*, which is earlier than Justin (c. 90 or 100 A.D.), where a short formula is given: "As for the eucharist [thanksgiving], thus must you do it. First, for the chalice: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made us to know through Jesus thy servant. Glory to thee for ever.' For the broken bread, 'We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge, which thou hast made us to know through Jesus thy servant. Glory to thee for ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and has been gathered together to become one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom; for to thee is the glory and the power by Jesus Christ for ever.'"]

"And the people give their assent, saying the *Amen*."

Preface, commemorating God's nature and work in creation, and culminating in the *Sanctus* "Holy, holy, holy," &c.).

*Continuation of Eucharistical Prayer.* The bishop (always in his own words) commemorates the work of God in Redemption, the life of Christ, leading to the *Narrative of the Institution* (including "This is my body," &c.), and followed by the *Anamnesis* or commemoration of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

*The Epiklesis.* He prays that the Holy Spirit will make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ, and thus effects the Consecration.

*Intercession.* The Eucharistical Prayer concludes with prayer for living and departed. Then the people say, *Amen*.

*The Lord's Prayer*, followed by a very short diaconal litany. The bishop blesses the communicants. (*The Fraction*, or breaking of the Bread, doubtless took place here, or after the *Sancta sanctis*.)

#### 4. THE COMMUNION.

#### 4. THE COMMUNION.

##### The Invitation.

The bishop cries, "Holy things for holy people" (in the old Latin rites *Sancta sanctis*). The people respond "One only is holy, one only is the Lord . . . Glory be to God on high, and on earth

peace . . . Blessed be he that cometh . . . Hosanna in the highest."

### The Communion.

"And the distribution of the elements, over which thanksgiving has been uttered, is made, so that each partakes. [In another place he says: 'And when the president has given thanks and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us 'deacons' give each of those present the bread, and wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and they carry away a portion to those who were not present.']"

All communicate; first the bishop, then the priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, chanters, deaconesses, virgins, widows, little children, and the rest of the congregation. They take the consecrated bread in the open right hand, supported by the left, the bishop saying, "The body of Christ"; they drink from the chalice, which is administered by the deacon, who says, "The blood of Christ." To each they reply *Amen*. Meanwhile the chanters sing Ps. 33.

### Thanksgiving and Dismissal.

The bishop says a prayer of thanksgiving in the name of all, and then gives the Blessing. The deacon says "Depart in peace."

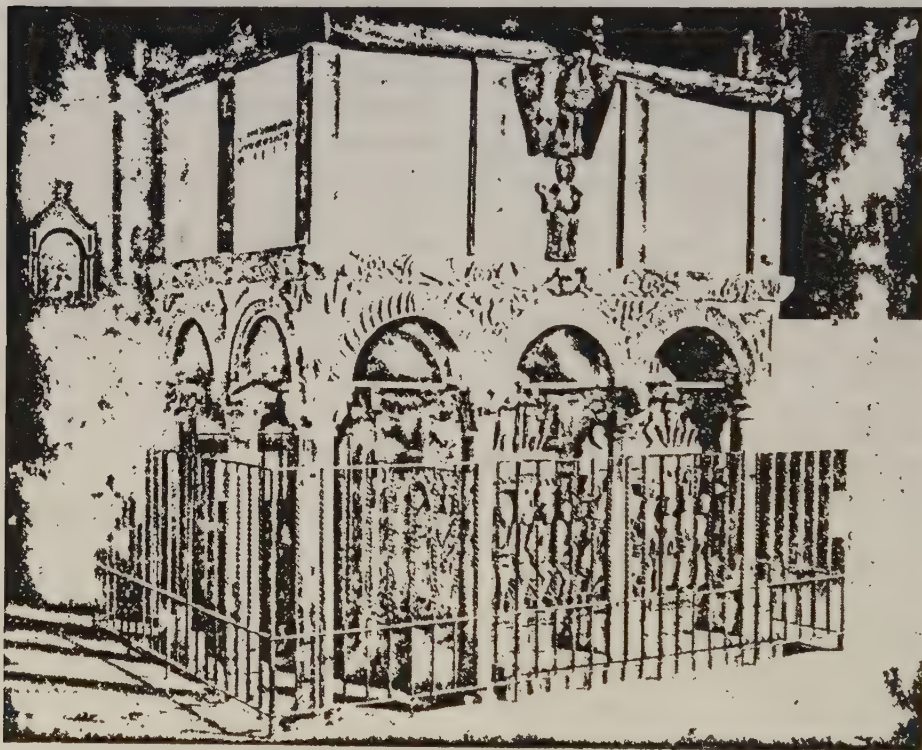
### Reservation and Almsgiving.

Justin Martyr's description concludes as follows:—

"And to those who are absent they are sent by the hands of deacons. And those who have the means, and are so disposed, give as much as they will, each according to his inclination; and the sum collected is placed in the hands of the president, who himself succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any cause, are in want, and the prisoners, and the foreigners who are staying in the place; and, in short, he provides for all who are in need."



None of these early accounts is complete. None of the 4th century documents mentions the Fraction or Breaking of the Bread, for instance ; and St. Justin evidently minimizes the liturgical part of his description, which a non-Christian emperor would not understand,



PULPIT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. AMBROSE, MILAN.

Between the supporting columns is an ancient Roman sarcophagus.

and lays stress on the practical side, the almsgiving ; yet he does happen to mention the mixed chalice and reservation. St. Paul, for his part, does not think of writing a description of a service so familiar to the recipients of his letters : he is only guarding against abuses and

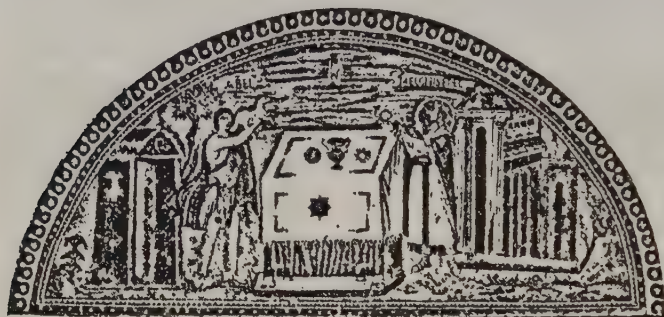
drawing lessons from it. Yet he mentions in one place or another several main points, the *Amen* at the end of a "giving of thanks," the Fraction, and the distribution to the people or Communion. The Kiss of Peace is mentioned both by St. Paul and St. Peter, when they tell their hearers thus to salute one another in *Rom.* xvi. 16, *1 Cor.* xvi. 20, *2 Cor.* xiii. 12, and *1 Pet.* v. 14. It is clear also from the Epistles, that both these letters themselves and the (Jewish) Scriptures, and doubtless also "memoirs" of our Lord were read; while in the Acts we find a Sermon and are told of the very early hour of the Eucharist.

The Eucharistical and other prayers were at first extemporary, though they followed well accustomed lines; the Eucharistical Prayer in especial being always, so far back as it can be traced, a recapitulation of and thanksgiving for the life and work of Christ, commonly including the record of the Institution at the Last Supper, and ending with the *Epiklesis* or prayer for the sanctification of the bread and wine, and the Lord's Prayer. No doubt, if Justin Martyr's account were fuller, the ritual (that is the order of the prayers) would be much the same as that of the 4th century, though the ceremonial would be less.

Some bishops, however, found it more convenient to write down the prayers they used; and it was in this way that the ritual became fixed. We know that one bishop did this *c.* 350; for a few years ago there was discovered in the Greek monastery of Mount Athos a collection of prayers by an Egyptian bishop, Serapion, who was a friend of St. Athanasius. In this book, which has been translated by the late Bishop of Salis-

bury, Dr. Wordsworth (*Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book*, London, 1899), we have the earliest known Anaphora or Canon, and a very beautiful one it is

We reproduce it here, in order that Everyman may see for himself how the early Church prayed in the supreme hour of worship. The Church of



AN EARLY CHURCH ALTAR,  
With ornamented frontal and fair linen.

(From a 6th century mosaic.)

to-day, Greek, Russian, Latin, or English, has lost as well as gained since Serapion wrote down his prayers in the Delta of the Nile.

## THE ANAPHORA OF SERAPION

### *The Preface.*

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise thee, O uncreated God, who art unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible to every created substance. We praise thee who art known of thy Son the only-begotten, who through him wast uttered and interpreted and made known to created nature. We praise thee who knowest the Son and revealest to the saints the glories that are about him: who art known of thy begotten Word, and art brought to the sight and interpreted to the understanding of the saints. We praise thee, O invisible Father, provider of immortality. Thou art the fount of life, the fount of light, the fount of all grace and all truth, O Lover of men, O Lover of the poor, who reconcilest thyself to all, and drawest all to thyself through the sojourning of thy beloved Son.



We beseech thee, make us living men. Give us a spirit of light, that "we may know thee the true (God) and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Give us the Holy Spirit that we may be able to tell forth and to relate thine unspeakable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus speak in us and the Holy Spirit, and hymn thee through us.

For thou art "far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come." Before thee stand thousand thousands, and myriad myriads of angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, powers; before thee stand the two most honourable six-winged seraphim, with two wings covering the face, and with twain the feet, and with twain flying, and crying, "Holy," with whom receive also our cry of "holy" as we say :

*The Sanctus.*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of thy glory.

*The Eucharistical Prayer.*

[*Oblation.*] Full is the heaven, full is also the earth of thy excellent glory, Lord of Hosts. Fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation : for to thee have we offered this living sacrifice, the unbloody oblation. To thee we have offered this bread the likeness of the Body of the only-begotten.

[*Narrative of the Institution.*] This bread is the likeness of the holy Body, for the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and brake and gave to his disciples, saying, "Take and eat, this is my Body which is being broken for you for the remission of sins." Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and we beseech thee through this sacrifice be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of truth : and as this bread had been scattered on the top of the mountains, and, gathered together, came to be one, so also gather thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house, and make one living Catholic Church. We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood, for the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to his own disciples, "Take, drink, this is the new covenant, which is my Blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins." Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the Blood.



[*The Epiklesis or Consecration.*] O God of truth, let thy holy Word come to sojourn on this bread that the bread may become Body of the Word, and on this cup that the cup may become Blood of the Truth. And make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the enabling of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked thee, the uncreated, through the Only-begotten in the Holy Spirit.

[*The Intercession.*] Let this people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for bringing to nought of the evil one and for establishment of the Church.

We intercede also on behalf of all who have fallen asleep, whose is also the memorial we are making. (*After the recitation of the names*):—Sanctify these souls; for thou knowest all. Sanctify all souls at rest in the Lord. And number them with all thy holy hosts and give them a place and a mansion in thy kingdom.

Receive also the thanksgiving of the people, and bless those who offered the oblations and the thanksgivings, and grant health and soundness and cheerfulness and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit; as it was, and is, and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. *Amen.*

By the 6th century we find, both in East and West, a fixed service with imposing ceremonies, still contributed on great occasions by a number of priests and deacons who assisted the bishop in a somewhat intricate manner. The Eastern Liturgy has not materially changed since this time; and one can form a good idea of what a 6th Century Communion Service was like by attending the Liturgy at a Greek or Russian Church in England, though to find the service with all its elaboration a journey to the East is necessary.

Indeed in an Eastern Church to-day one can easily imagine what the Liturgy was like even in the 4th

century ; for the central part of the service, the Anaphora, from "Lift up your hearts" to the end, was much the same in 350 as in 550, and has altered little in the East since. But by the 6th century important changes were made in the earlier part of the service, which are still conspicuous in the East ; the ministers entered with much pomp to the singing of the *Mono-genes* (of which a verse translation will be found in the *English Hymnal*, no. 325) ; the *Trisagion* ("Holy God, Holy, mighty, Holy and immortal, have mercy", *ibid.*, no. 737), was sung before the Lessons ; the dismissal of the catechumens had disappeared. By the 6th century also had been instituted the Great Entrance, still so grand a feature of the Eastern rite, the oblations prepared before the service were (as they still are) carried in procession to the holy table, while there was (as still to-day) sung the *Cherubikon* or the *Sigesato*, ("Let all mortal flesh keep silence," *ibid.*, no. 318). The Creed was introduced here in the 5th century ; and also the reading of the Diptychs (two tables containing the names of those living and those departed to be specially prayed for) which has long disappeared from our liturgy, though indeed the practice of reading such names from a card or book is pretty universal in the Anglican Church to-day. One other feature, very conspicuous still in the East, had become customary by the 6th century—the altar was veiled during certain parts of the service. This was usually done by drawing curtains between the four pillars of the ciborium or great altar canopy (Plate on p. 193).

We must now leave the Eastern Liturgies, which at the present day are divided into four families, the great Byzantine family including the Greek and Russian

Liturgies, and three others—the West Syrian, East Syrian or Nestorian, and Egyptian or Coptic.

The Western Liturgies of to-day include the Roman, the Mozarabic, the Ambrosian (which is descended from the Gallican, and serves a million of people in the



ST. CLEMENTE, ROME (UPPER CHURCH

(Choir-screen and ambons of the 6th century. The ciborium, or altar canopy, was set up when the Upper Church was built on the ruins of the old Church in 1108.)

diocese and province of Milan), and the Anglican (see the "Family Tree" on p. 249).

To follow the development in detail of the Western Liturgies would be too complicated for Everyman to tolerate, or for his short History to contain. We must content ourselves here with an outline of the two great



Western Liturgies in the 6th century—the Roman and Gallican. At this time came St. Augustine of Canterbury to England bringing the Roman rite; but he had been consecrated a bishop in France according to the Gallican rite, and it was Gallican services which he found the remnant of the British Church using; and it was Gallican services which Columba and the Irish Missionaries introduced into Scotland and England.



THE GOATHLAND CHALICE.

(c. 1450.)



THE JORVIK CHALICE.

(c. 1000.)

The Roman Liturgy, as it has been for about a thousand years, can be seen—in its principal features and main outline—in any Roman missal to-day. Its original has not been traced: all we know is that the primitive Roman Liturgy was in Greek and so continued until about the 4th century. The Roman Church consisted mainly of Greek-speaking people at first, and the reader will remember that St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans in Greek, as well as his other Epistles.

The other great Western rite, the Gallican, was fundamentally different in being on the same lines as the Eastern rites. Some think that it was



introduced into the West about the middle of the 4th century ; it was certainly established in Milan before St. Ambrose became bishop there, and it rapidly spread over North Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Ireland. Others think that the Gallican and Eastern type was



CHURCH OF ST. AMBROSE, MILAN.

(9th to 11th century.)

the original Catholic type of Liturgy, and that the Roman Liturgy was at first exceptional. In any case it seemed at one time as if the whole of Christendom, outside Rome and the adjacent territory, was destined always to use this type. But the growing attraction of the Roman Church gave another turn to the issue.

Thus the Roman Liturgy came to prevail in the West. It did not suffer in its text during the Middle Ages as did the Divine Service, and remains to-day much as it was in the 6th century (it had lost the Old Testament Lesson in the 5th), sober and primitive in tone—rather bald indeed compared with the Eastern rites, and disfigured by some obscurities, but free from the peculiarities



A SUBDEACON READING THE EPISTLE.

of the later Mediaeval and modern Roman Catholic devotions.

It would be impossible satisfactorily to carry the history further in this little book, and we would refer those who wish to follow the various services word for word to Brightman and to Duchesne. Suffice it to say that the Gallican rite has almost disappeared, surviving only (and that with a large Roman



A PRIEST BLESSING HOLY WATER.

The clerk in a surplice holds the salt; the water is in a stock on the floor, the manual on the lectern.

admixture) in the Ambrosian or Milanese rite of the North of Italy, and in the Mozarabic (now only used

in a few Spanish churches). But it had a considerable influence in the Middle Ages; and the Roman rite itself borrowed from the Gallican uses much of that ornate character which is now regarded by the ignorant as specially "Romish." The countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland, France, and Spain, when they gave up the Gallican for the Roman Liturgy, retained some Gallican rites and ceremonies (a few of which still exist in France, many in



A GALLICAN CUSTOM: THE EPISCOPAL BLESSING  
BEFORE THE COMMUNION.

(From Bishop Longland's Pontifical, 1520-47.)

Spain); and thus there were down to the Reformation some Gallican features, akin to Eastern usage, in Latin books (such as the Sarum Missal) which were other-



wise of the Roman family: various forms of the Great Entrance, for instance, and the touching and very ancient custom of the benediction of the communicants by the bishop immediately before the Communion.

This last ceremony became, alas, a benediction in most cases of non-communicants. During the centuries



THE COMMUNION ADMINISTERED BY A BISHOP AND A DEACON.

In the 13th century. (Two clerks in surplices hold the houselling cloth before the communicants.)

preceding the Reformation the people, for all their devotion to the Mass, were in the general habit of communicating only once a year, and even specially devout lay folk did not receive the Sacrament frequently. Had it not been for this grave evil, would that violent reaction against the "Mass" ever have taken



place in the 16th century? We have to remember that the exaggerations of the Reformation were caused by exaggerations in the ages preceding it. Certainly the first step in England, when the "Order of the Communion," was inserted into the Latin service, was to insist upon lay communion; and the succeeding Prayer Books endeavoured to carry on the same work. Unfortunately the Mediaeval habit of communicating only at Easter was so ingrained, that the only result of insisting that there must be communicants when there was a Celebration, was that there was no Celebration at all on Sunday, except on rare occasions, the Communion being only administered three or four times a year in parish churches. It was not till the reign of Queen Victoria that frequent Communion was generally recovered, and the Prayer Book system thus vindicated.

We have seen in Chapter 6 that the First Prayer Book, while including the Order of the Communion, kept near to the old Latin outline, but that the Canon was much dislocated in the Second Book. The Scottish Liturgy was drawn up on more primitive and Eastern lines, and went through successive revisions in the same direction; the American Liturgy followed the Scottish example; and doubtless the English Liturgy will one day be made a model service by the recovery of those ancient liturgical principles, departure from which brought little good either to the Roman rite, or to that of Sarum, or to the Anglican children of the latter.

Below we print a table of the Gallican and Roman rites in their chief features. For the reader's convenience we have indicated by a \* the parts which correspond to the present English Liturgy; while we have marked

by a † parts which are still in the English service, but in a changed position ; and have put ‡ by those features which in the Anglican Communion are generally supplied by hymns or anthems from one or other of the hymn-books.

## GALLICAN LITURGY.

## ROMAN LITURGY.

*Sixth Century.*

I. LITURGY OF THE  
CATECHUMENS.I. LITURGY OF THE  
CATECHUMENS.

## 1. PREPARATION.

## 1. PREPARATION.

Preparation of the Elements \*

Antiphon for Introit †

*Trisagion* (" Holy God ") \*

*Kyrie* \*

Canticle, *Benedictus* \*

Collect \*

Lessons. \*

Old Testament Lesson

Epistle \*

Canticle, *Benedicite* ; Re- †  
sponsory *Trisagion*

Gospel \*

Sermon. \*

Litany and Dismissal.

Litany by deacon †

[Dismissal a mere formula by  
6th cent.]

II. LITURGY OF THE  
FAITHFUL.2. THE OFFERTORY. \*

*The Great Entrance.* Hymn  
sung while the oblations are

† Antiphon and Introit (psalm).

\* *Kyrie.*

† *Gloria in Excelsis.*

\* Collect.

\* Lessons.

[Old Testament Lesson,  
dropped after 5th cent.]

Gradual (psalm).

Epistle.

Alleluya, or Tract (psalm).

Gospel.

II. LITURGY OF THE  
FAITHFUL.

## 2. THE OFFERTORY.

Preparation of the Elements.  
Chant meanwhile.

brought in, the bread in a tower-shaped vessel, and put on the altar.

† † Oblations put on the altar.

Offertory Prayer.

\* \* Offertory Prayer.

Bidding of Prayer : *Collect over oblations.*

† † *Orate, fratres, and Collect (secreta).*

Reading of Diptychs (Commemoration of Saints and departed).

(*Later : see below.*)

*Kiss of Peace*, Prayer and Responsory.

(*Later : see below.*)

### 3. THE CANON.

\* \*

*Sursum Corda*, Preface, and *Sanctus*.

\* \*

### 3. THE CANON.

*Sursum Corda*, Preface, and *Sanctus*.

Eucharistical Prayer.

\* \*

Post-Sanctus.

† † Eucharistical Prayer.

*Te igitur*, Intercession, commemoration of Saints.

*Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem.*

*Narrative of the Institution.*

\* \*

*Qui pridie*, Narrative of the Institution.

*Epiklesis*, contained in the variable prayer called Post *Secreta*.

*Unde et memores*. ("Wherefore we.")

*Supplices te* (prayer that the gifts may be offered on high—a weakened *Epiklesis*?)

† † *Nobis quoque*, Commemoration of Saints.

† † *Lord's Prayer.*

*Kiss of Peace.*

*Fraction* (breaking of the Bread).

† †

*Fraction.*

[In Spain the Creed here.]

*Lord's Prayer*

†

(*Earlier : see above.*)

Commixture (particle of Bread placed in chalice).

Commixture.

## 4. THE COMMUNION. \* \* 4. THE COMMUNION.

*Sancta sanctis* ("Holy things  
for holy people").

Blessing of communicants.

## The Communion.

Communion (with Hymn : †  
e.g. in Ireland was sung

"Draw nigh and take,"

A. & M. 313, E. H. 307).

Bidding of Thanksgiving [like  
"Having now received"  
in the Scottish rite].

Post-communion (collect).

Dismissal.

## The Communion.

Communion (A Psalm sung).

"Let us pray."

Post-communion (collect).

Dismissal.

In comparing the above outline with our own service,

four points  
need special  
note. The

*Kyries*: These  
in the Eng-  
lish Liturgy  
are made in-  
to respon-  
sive prayers  
to the Ten  
Command-  
ments (which  
may be con-  
sidered as an  
invariable  
Old Testa-  
ment Les-  
son). *The*



THE COMMUNION ADMINISTERED BY A PRIEST AND  
A DEACON.

(In the late 17th century.)



*Litany*: The *Kyries* of the Latin rites are a relic of the Litany once sung in the procession to the church. In our rite the Litany has regained its ancient prominence as the prelude to the Liturgy itself. *The Great Entrance*: The decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Bishop of Lincoln's Case requires the primitive custom of preparing the Elements before the service, and thus restores some form of the Great Entrance. *The Intercession and Commemoration*: The position of the Commemoration of departed Saints in our Church Militant prayer, though unlike that of the Roman or Sarum Liturgy (where the Commemoration is split up into two parts within the Canon), is the same as in the Gallican service, where the reading of the Diptychs followed immediately on the Offertory prayer.

We are now ready to present a condensed outline of the English Liturgy; from which it will be seen that our Communion Service to-day still consists of the same four principal parts, as in the time of St. Justin Martyr, and as in the succeeding ages.

## THE PRESENT ENGLISH LITURGY.

### I. PREPARATION.

[Before the Liturgy: Litany, Preparation of Elements.]  
Lord's Prayer and Collect.

### Lessons.

Old Testament, The Decalogue, with *Kyries*.  
Collect, Epistle, Gospel.

### Sermon.

## 2. THE OFFERTORY.

The Alms and the Bread and Wine brought to the altar.

## Offertory Prayer.

Church Militant Prayer (*prayer over the Oblations, Intercession, and Commemoration*).

Confession, etc.

## 3. THE CANON OR ANAPHORA.

*Sursum Corda, Preface, and Sanctus.*

Prayer of Access.

## Eucharistical Prayer.

Prayer of Consecration: A short *Anamnesis* (of the Passion and Sacrifice of Christ), a weakened *Epi-  
klesis* ("that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine," etc.), followed by the *Narrative of the Institution*, with the *Fraction*.

## 4. THE COMMUNION.

## The Communion.

Communion of priest and people.

*The Lord's Prayer.*

Prayer of Oblation or Thanksgiving:

*Gloria in Excelsis*, and a post-communion Collect.

Dismissal ("Shall let them depart with this Blessing").

## CHAPTER 15

### *BAPTISM, CATECHIZING, AND CONFIRMATION*

WE have indicated the history of the four services in constant use, the Sacrament of the Holy Com-

munion, its prelude—the Litany, and the two parts of the Divine Service, Mattins and Evensong. Let us now pass to the Sacrament of Initiation.

The initiation into the Christian fellowship has always consisted of two parts, Baptism and Confirmation, so closely allied in the Primitive Church that the laying on of hands was but the concluding part of the Baptismal Service—as closely allied still in the



BAPTISM. 15TH CENTURY.

Panel of the font at Gresham. (The priest in full surplice and stole immerses an infant.)

the Baptismal Service—as closely allied still in the

Eastern Church, where the priest anoints the babe with oil consecrated by the bishop (there being no imposition of hands) immediately after baptizing it. It is only in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches that the postponement of Confirmation till the age of intelligent childhood has separated from Holy Baptism the rite which completes the act of Christian initiation. In the Primitive Church the Communion followed immediately on Confirmation ; and still in the East the newly baptized and confirmed babe is communicated, and Communion is habitually given to little children.

The Sacrament of Baptism, we are told in St. Matthew, was instituted by Christ in one of his last solemn commands—"Make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you" (*St. Matt.* xxviii. 19-20). Confirmation was instituted through the Apostles, but we cannot doubt that in practising the Laying on of Hands they knew that they were fulfilling their Master's wishes. The New Testament is full of baptismal teaching, and it is evident that the writers regard it as of the highest and most sacred importance and as a thing absolutely necessary. From the reference in *Hebrews* vi. 2 to "the teaching of baptisms, and of laying on of hands," we gather that Confirmation also was regarded as one of the first principles or fundamental acts of the Christian life, and also that Baptism was preceded by repentance and faith (cf. *Acts* ii. 38, xvi. 31). The Apostles must have laid their hands on converts immediately after baptizing them ; but, since Baptism could be administered by inferior ministers, such as Philip the Deacon, while even



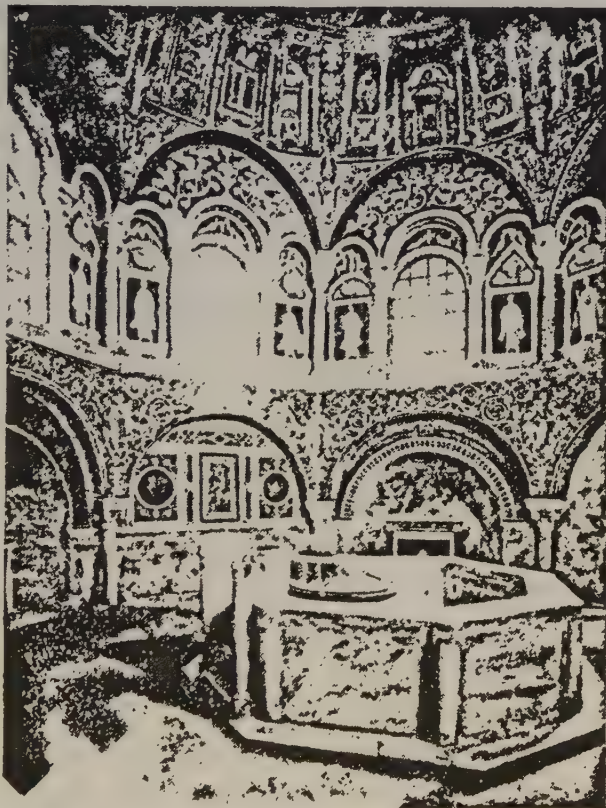
then Confirmation was reserved to the highest officers of the Church, we find an instance (incidentally preserved because of the action of Simon Magus) of two Apostles journeying from Jerusalem to Samaria to lay their hands on converts whom Philip had baptized (*Acts* viii. 5, 12, 14-17). One instance is preserved, owing to the invalidity of a baptism, of the Apostle Paul baptizing (*Acts* xix. 3-6), and here we find, as we should expect, that the Laying on of Hands followed immediately on the Baptism. In the case of the eunuch baptized by St. Philip (*Acts* viii. 36-38), however, no Confirmation is mentioned ; but since it was regarded very early (*Acts* viii. 17) as the giving of the Holy Spirit, we can hardly imagine that it was ever omitted. The simple creed in this instance (*Acts* viii. 37) is only given in some of the texts, and may be of later date.

This is all the New Testament tells us—Repentance, Profession of Faith, Baptism in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which has been used ever since, and Confirmation, which was then called the Laying on of Hands. There is no mention of unction except in connection with the healing of sick persons.

The Apostolic Fathers tell us little more. In the *Didaché* (which is probably *c.* A.D. 100, if not as early as A.D. 90), the triple formula is mentioned, and also previous instruction with fasting : a preference is expressed for the running water of a river or stream ; and if the water is not deep enough for immersion, then pouring water upon the head is mentioned as sufficient. St. Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) in his *Apology* also describes Baptism out of doors :—

“Those who are convinced of the truth of our

doctrine, and have promised to live in accordance with it, are exhorted to prayer, fasting, and repentance for past sins ; and we pray and fast with them. Then they are led by us to a place where there is water, and in this way they are regenerated, as we also have been regenerated ; that is to say, they receive the bath of water in the name of God the Father and Ruler of all, and of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ says, 'Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.'"



THE BAPTISTERY, RAVENNA. 5TH CENTURY.  
(With large 5th century font for immersion.)

Baptism was at first, of course, mainly a service for the admission of adult converts. After the Peace of the Church, and throughout the 4th century, great numbers of adults forsook paganism and were baptized. In the 5th, fresh races were being converted in the less

central parts of the Empire ; in the 6th, the conversion of our own race began. Thus there were still vast numbers of adult baptisms ; and in the prolonged and elaborate ceremonies of the 6th or 7th century the service is still one of adult baptism. Undoubtedly the rite loses in impressiveness when infants are baptized, as every one knows who has witnessed the baptism of converts in the mission field. But the principle that the children of Christians shall grow up inside the Christian Church, and not as outsiders, is so important that Christendom as a whole has been content to lose the touching ceremonial of adult baptism, except on the comparatively rare occasions when it is still required. It is probable that whole families, including infants, were baptized by the Apostles, since the Baptism of Lydia and her household is mentioned (*Acts* xvi. 15), and St. Paul mentions (*1 Cor.* i. 16) that he baptized the household of Stephanas. Infant baptism was certainly held in the 2nd century to be a tradition of the Apostles.

About the year 200, Tertullian describes Baptism and Confirmation in fuller terms than Justin, speaking of the ceremonies as things long established and everywhere practised : it is therefore certain that the sign of the cross, unction, and the giving of milk and honey are a good deal earlier even than this. Tertullian, in his epigrammatic way, sums up the whole rite of initiation :—

“ The flesh is washed, that the soul may be cleansed ; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated ; the flesh is signed, that the soul also may be fortified ; the flesh is overshadowed by the laying on of hands, that the soul may be illuminated by the Spirit ; the flesh is



fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the soul also may be nourished by God."

Baptism, Tertullian says in others of his writings, is given by the bishop, and, through his authority, by priests and deacons; but in certain cases it may be conferred by lay-folk. *Preparation*: The candidate must prepare himself by prayer and fasting, and by keeping vigils. *Baptism*: It is ordinarily celebrated on Easter Even (in the night) or during the fifty days that follow. The font is blessed; the candidate solemnly renounces the devil, his pomps, and his angels [which at this time meant the renunciation of pagan ceremonies, gods, and demi-gods]; he enters the font, and is baptized in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. *Confirmation*: The bishop then anoints him with consecrated oil, signs him with the cross, and lays his hands upon him, invoking the Holy Spirit. *First Communion*. Tertullian alludes to this in the same quotation; and in another place he mentions that milk and honey were given to the neophytes [doubtless as a sign that they had reached the Promised Land, "flowing with milk and honey"]; and we know that the neophytes partook of this immediately after their First Communion.

We can imagine with what solemnity, and with what a hush of awe, these appealing ceremonies were celebrated over men and women, who thus renounced paganism, and entered the fold where they were henceforward to live in daily peril of agony and death. Careful testing and instruction were necessary before a pagan could be admitted into the outlawed Church. Thus it was that, first of all, when any candidates presented themselves, their names were taken down and inquiries made into



their characters : they were then admitted as *catechumens*, to be instructed in church every day by the bishop or one of his priests, until they entered the baptistery on Easter Even for the last great rites. When the ages of persecution passed away and the Peace of the Church had begun, the Catechumenate was abused by many converts from paganism, who remained catechumens—such was the awe which Baptism inspired—and did not enter the font till old age or the time of their last illness. Among those who set the bad example was the Emperor Constantine himself. But there were also many earnest men, feeling their way to the new thought, who waited in their reverence till they should be less unworthy and untrained for the heavy responsibility of being a Christian. St. Martin of Tours, for instance, born about the time of Constantine's death, and destined to be one of the wisest of bishops, was only a catechumen when as a young soldier he gave his cloak to the beggar.

We know that in the 4th century the candidate was admitted to the Catechumenate with much ceremony, which included the exsufflation, or breathing upon him, the signing with the cross, in Rome the placing of a grain of salt in his mouth, in Spain a preliminary unction. The preparation of the catechumens through Lent included solemn visits to the church (these "scrutinies" were seven in the Rome of the 7th century), with exorcisms and prayer at each ; and at the third visit took place "the delivery of the Christian Law"—the four Gospels being laid on the altar, read from and explained—the delivery of the Creed, and of the Lord's Prayer.

This practice, changed to less formal catechizing, continued through the Middle Ages; and we have it still in our Church Catechism, which is an instruction to be delivered in church in preparation for Confirmation, on these same subjects—the Creed, the Christian Law (for the Decalogue is in the Catechism made Christian by the Duty to God and the Duty to our Neighbour), the Lord's Prayer. The Church Catechism is in fact an instruction, admirably condensed, on these three things, prefixed by the teaching of the Baptismal Vow, and followed by the appendix on the Sacraments.

Thus it was then that, as the Empire became Christian, and souls were increasingly admitted into the Church in infancy, the Catechumenate changed its character, and became the catechizing of children after their Baptism, and often after their Confirmation as well.

But the initiatory rite was still celebrated with great magnificence, and infants were treated as if they were adults, their part being taken by deputy—by godparents,



A PRIEST CATECHIZING, 1689.

Frontispiece to *The Catechumen*, licensed 1689. (He wears his cassock and full-sleeved gown. In the background is sketched an altar with chalice and flagon thereon.)

in fact. Here, then, again, in the replies made by the sponsors at our service, we have a reminder of the days when Europe was in process of conversion from paganism to Christianity.

Baptism, Confirmation, and First Communion were administered in the West, as follows, in the 7th and 8th centuries :—

### BAPTISM

*Maundy Thursday.* A vase of oil, and a vase of chrism (oil perfumed with balm) is consecrated towards the end of the Canon. The people add little vials of oil for their personal use in the anointing of the sick.

*Easter Even.* (Afternoon or morning.) The last exorcism. The Effeta, or touching of the lips and ears with the finger moistened with saliva. Unction on the breast and back. The candidates renounce Satan (turning to the West in the Oriental Churches) and recite the Creed (turning to the East). They depart, after prayer.

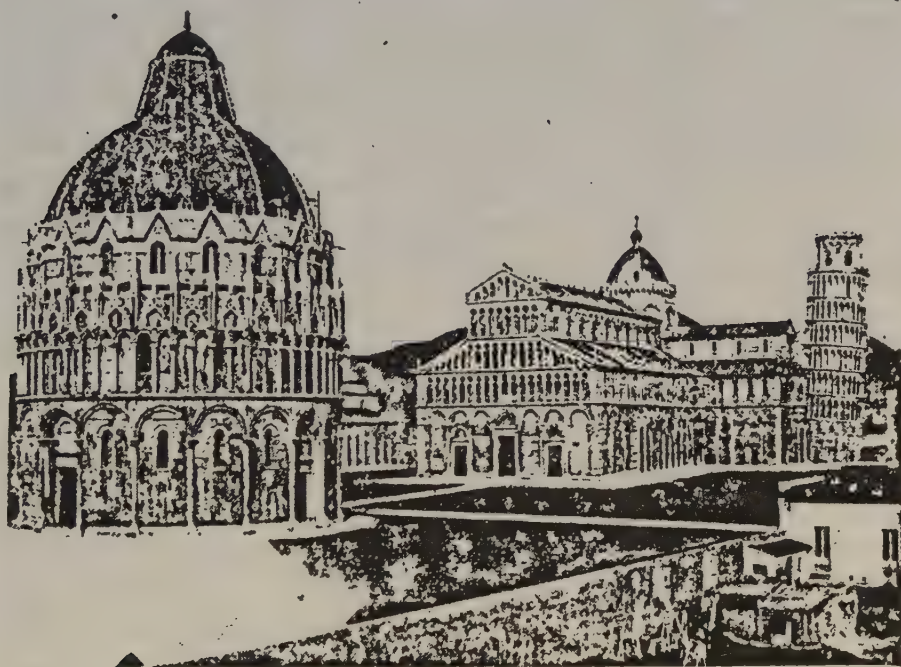
*Easter Even.* (The night service.) The Easter Vigil with long Lessons from the Old Testament interspersed with Psalms and Canticles.

The bishop and his clergy go, in a litany-procession with lights and incense, to the baptistery. (In the midst of the tank-like font of the great Roman baptistery of St. John Lateran was a large porphyry candelabrum with a golden lamp of perfumed oil : there were silver statues of Christ and St. John Baptist, with the Lamb of God in the midst, and under it a fountain of water that fell into the font ; jets of water also sprang from seven stags' heads round the font.) As the Litany ceases, prayers are said, and the bishop signs the water :



two ministers then plunge lighted tapers into the water, and the bishop pours chrism on it in the form of a cross, stirring it with his hand.

The candidates then take off their clothes in two adjoining vestries. The archdeacon presents them to



THE BAPTISTERY, PISA.

(1153-1278, with 14th century Gothic additions. In the background, the Cathedral and the leaning Campanile.)

the bishop, and they make a threefold profession of faith. The bishop, with priests and deacons (all wearing long linen tunics) enter the water with the candidates, and pour it over their heads, the bishop saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."



## CONFIRMATION

They go into a church or chapel (at St. John Lateran, the Chapel of the Cross, behind the baptistery) for the Consignation or signing. The bishop anoints their heads with chrism. They put on white robes, assisted by their godfathers and godmothers. (In the Gallican and Celtic rites the bishop now girt himself and washed the feet of the newly baptized.) The bishop invokes the Holy Spirit and crosses the forehead of each neophyte with his thumb moistened with the chrism, saying to each one, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Peace to thee." (In the Eastern Churches the neophytes then turned to the East and recited the Lord's Prayer.)

## FIRST COMMUNION

During the Baptism and Confirmation the choir have sung Litanies in the church. A procession now enters from the baptistery ; the bishop prostrates himself before the altar, stands, and intones the *Gloria in Excelsis*, thus beginning the first Mass of Easter Day. It is still night. At this service the neophytes make their first Communion, standing before the altar in their white robes. Afterwards they drink milk and honey and water, which have been blessed during the Canon. (This ceremony was given up at Rome about the time of Gregory the Great. It is still retained in the Coptic Church.) Then comes the dawn of Easter Day.

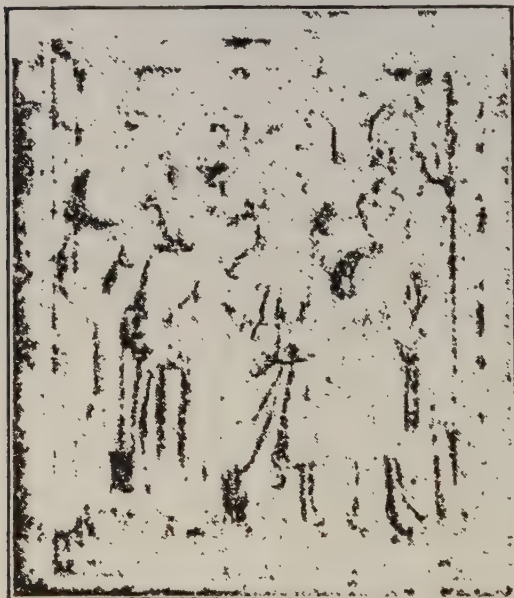
During the Octave of Easter the neophytes wear their white robes, and go to church every day.



A BISHOP CONFIRMING CHILDREN, 1520.

(The Bishop, in his episcopal mitre, and vestments, is signing the forehead of a child, who is held up by a layman. Behind him is a clerk in surplice, holding a staff. In the foreground, a group of children and laymen are gathered around the altar, some in surplices and some in common dress.)

Most of these imposing ceremonies have been preserved in a more or less attenuated form up to the present day, in one part or other of Christ's Church ; but as the need of adult baptism decreased and multitudes of infants all over Christendom had to be baptized, the rites changed both in significance and in character. The times for the rite were increased, Whitsuntide being



CONFIRMATION OF INFANTS,  
15TH CENTURY.

(Panel of the font at Gresham. The bishop wears a hood over his rochet ; his mitre has been broken off.)

added first in the West, the Epiphany and Christmas in the East ; priests, who had at first merely assisted the bishop, carried out the rites on these great occasions in his presence, the blessing of the oil of Confirmation being, however, always reserved to him ; then, as necessity required, they administered baptism without him on other Holy-days (the first Baptismal Rubric of the Prayer Book still

gives "Sundays and other Holy-days" as the proper occasions for this Sacrament). In the East they administer Communion also to the newly-baptized, the bishop's part consisting only in the annual consecration of the chrism. But in the West, as the bishop's presence was still required, the newly-baptized had to wait till the occasion of an episcopal visit, and often had to wait a long time.



Hence children were often quite old before the bishop came their way and confirmed them (wearing his rochet and hood or chimere, and often performing the short rite on horseback, in the Middle Ages); and thus the custom of infant Confirmation and Communion slowly and gradually died out. At the last revision in 1661 advantage was taken of this to make Confirmation the occasion



A BISHOP ON A JOURNEY, 1520.

(He rides a mule, and wears a hood over his rochet. Three clerks accompany him on mules, and three precede him on foot.)

for a public renewal of the baptismal vows, when children had reached years of discretion; but the Reformers intended them to be still quite young at the time of their Confirmation and First Communion, and, until the 19th century, they were sometimes under ten, and seldom more than a year or two older.

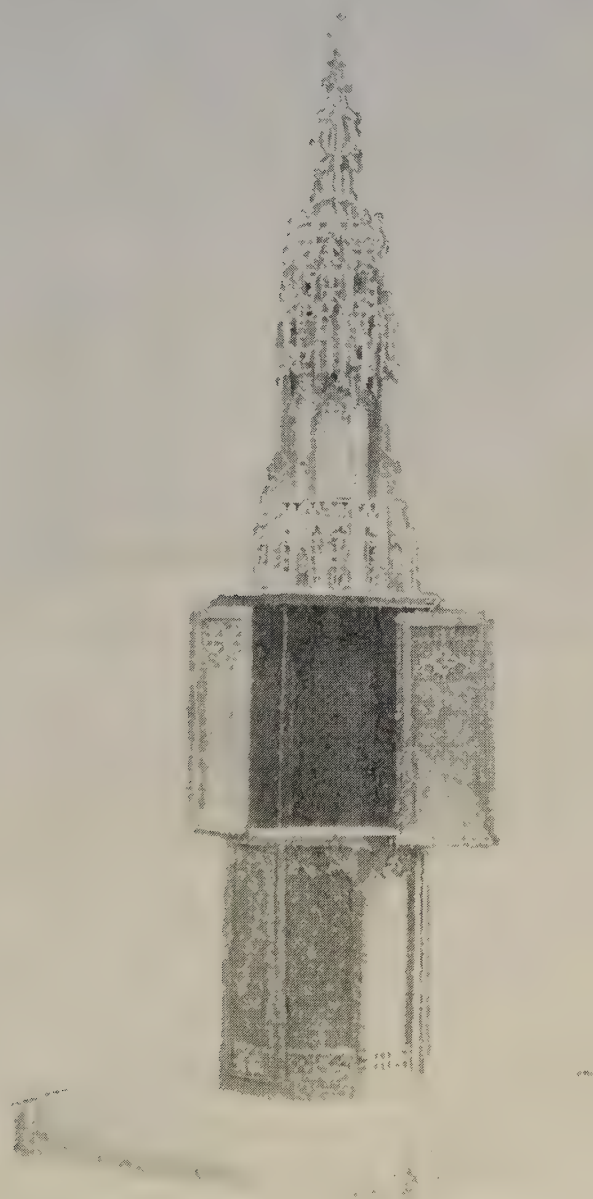
Mediaeval England, while retaining in a shrunken form most of the ceremonies of the ancient Roman



Church, had added some Gallican customs, notably the presentation of a lighted candle to the babe—a striking act and full of plain significance. The Blessing of the Font had become a separate service, performed on Easter Even and the Vigil of Pentecost, when the water was renewed and hallowed, whether there were any children to be then baptized or not: this solemn benediction was indeed the only one of the ancient rites that retained anything like the ancient splendour. The baptism itself was a service probably little more imposing in its common administration than the hurried rite which one witnesses to-day in Italy or France.

The First English Prayer Book brought back into its proper prominence the actual baptizing of the infant, which in the Sarum rite had been smothered up among ceremonies that had long lost most of their meaning. The Blessing of the Font was still a separate service, and was ordered to be done once a month. The preparatory part of the service (relic of the Catechumenate) still took place at the church-door, near which the font always stood in the Middle Ages, as it is bound by law to do still; the babe was named, signed on the forehead and breast, and exorcised. After the Gospel, the priest and people said the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and then all went to the font, where the service proceeded much as now. After the Baptism, the child was anointed, and clad in the white robe (called the chrisom).

In the Second Prayer Book the prayers for Blessing the Font (taken by Cranmer in 1549 from the Gallican Mozarabic Missal) were placed immediately before the baptism. The surviving relic of the Catechumenate was



THE FONT, TRINITY CHURCH.

(Folts were formerly with one or two, and not four, covers, the  
 design of the font being the same.)

further reduced by the omission of the exorcism and Creed, and the transference of the signing with the Cross and of the Lord's Prayer to their present place after the baptizing. The service was made to begin at the font itself, and thus the little procession from the church-door was lost, with its beautiful words, "The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into his holy household, and to keep and govern you alway in the same, that you may have everlasting life." The unction and white robe were omitted. At the last Revision in 1661, the blessing of the font was made clearer by the insertion of the sentence "Sanctify this Water to the mystical washing away of sin," and the words "of Infants" were added to the title, because the new service for Adults was then added to the Prayer Book, which thus touched hands\* with the earliest baptismal rites. At this time also the Catechism was taken out of the Confirmation service, and printed separately.

An idea has grown up in recent years which has done not a little harm : it is the notion that there is one proper and correct way of performing each of the services of the Church, and that if everything is not carried out according to some imagined standard, a great offence is done against what is supposed to be Catholic order. It is, of course, true that in each Church the duty of the clergy is to obey the rubrics of that Church and to follow its lawful customs ; and it is equally true that when they prefer their own private judgement, they do so to the great detriment of the services—as happened, for example, in the final degradation of the baptismal rite during the Georgian era, when children were baptized in the drawing-rooms of private houses, or from small basins

put in the font. But the preceding chapters of this little book will have at least made it clear that there is no one and only way of performing any rite of the Church ; and of nothing is this more true than of the many and changing rites and ceremonies which have gathered round the two acts of the Christian initiation.



#### SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF BAPTISM.

(From the Catacomb of Callistus, 2nd century.)

The dove shows that the subject is the Baptism of Christ; but there are contemporary pictures in the Catacombs of the baptism of catechumens which are exactly similar, except that there is no dove and that the minister wears the tunic and pallium instead of the loin-cloth as here. On the left is another ancient symbol of Baptism—a fisherman drawing a fish out of the sea.



## CHAPTER 16

### *THE OCCASIONAL SERVICES AND THE ORDINAL*

WE will conclude this short history with a very brief summary of those services which are for special occasions in a Christian's life, and which were anciently an application of the Holy Communion to those occasions. They were all still thus connected with the Eucharist, in the First Prayer Book; but the Second Book made a difference in the case of the Burial Service, which is therefore in the present English Prayer Book without a special Epistle and Gospel. The three services of the Ordinal are not strictly classed as Occasional Services; but they also are for particular occasions, and they also are insertions into the Order for Holy Communion.

#### THE SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY

This, like most of the Occasional Services, is taken from the Sarum Manual. It has also a peculiar interest in carrying on some innocent pagan ceremonies. The reason of this is that, in the early Church, Christians naturally followed the legal customs of the Roman Empire; and all they could do was to substitute a Christian benediction for the specifically heathen rites, and, instead of a sacrifice to idols, to offer the Christian

sacrifice of the Eucharist. Marriage was, before Christianity, and is still, a natural compact, of which the man and the woman themselves are the ministers: this compact, made before witnesses, constitutes a marriage, but to it the Church has added, from early times, the blessing of the bride and bridegroom and their communion. Thus our present service, which is the espousal and benediction, ends with the rubric that "It is convenient [i.e. fitting] that the new-married persons should receive the holy Communion at the time of their Marriage, or at the first opportunity after their Marriage."

Even after the 6th century, the Christian solemnization of matrimony still in many places consisted merely of prayers inserted in the Communion service, a veil being held over the man and woman during one of the prayers. This ancient nuptial veil was still common in France and Spain in the 19th century, though modern Ultramontanism has caused it to disappear. The other veil, the bride's, flame-coloured in pagan times, is still with us, though its colour is now white.

The old civil ceremonies of paganism thus went on side by side with the primitive Nuptial Mass; and as paganism disappeared, they came to be included in the Christian books. They were:—*The Betrothal*: The contracts were signed, presents were given (as a token of the marriage settlement), the bride and bridegroom kissed, the ring was given, and hands were joined. *The Wedding*: The bride and bridegroom (the bride veiled, and both wearing crowns and the nuptial attire) offered sacrifices, and partook of the sacrificial cake made by the Vestal Virgins.

We know from the mention of them by Tertullian that in the year 200, the kiss, and the joining of hands, the crown, and the veil were used, while for the sacrifices and the sacrificial meal the Oblation (as he calls it) had of course been substituted, and with it the mystical meal of the Communion. The ring must also have continued in use.

The reader will at once notice that all these things are still with us, even to the kiss, though this is now an unauthorized ceremony, usually performed in the chancel or vestry by our dear young people, who do not know that they are carrying out a ceremony of the Early Church. The bride still wears a crown ; and, though this is now with us a wreath of flowers, in some Western countries metal crowns are used (as they were in Mediaeval England) ; and in the East both the man and the woman wear large diadems of metal, and the whole marriage ceremony is called the Crowning.

In the Middle Ages the service continued much the same, with variations in different places. It consisted of two main parts—(1) the Espousal at the church-door or chancel-step, when the man and woman plighted their troth, the ring was given, and the couple were blessed ; (2) the Nuptial Mass, with its solemn nuptial benediction before the Communion. During the Liturgy the pair knelt first on the south of the sanctuary, and then at the altar-step for the *Sanctus*, while the nuptial veil was held over them till the *Agnus*—the votive Mass of the Trinity being usually taken, with some variations. In view of recent discussions it may interest the reader to know that the words “and obey” are a late Mediaeval addition of about the 14th century, when the words “obeye



to him" first appear in the English rite, and similar words in some German uses. In most Christian rites, the questions put to and the promises made by both parties are identical: in some rites—e.g., all over the East, both parties receive rings. Another controverted feature, the opening address, appears first in 1549. The impressive form



MARRIAGE, 15TH CENTURY.

(Panel of the Font at Gresham.)

(The priest, wearing a cope over his alb and crossed stole, joins the hands of the man and woman. Behind him a clerk holds an open book.)

"Those whom God hath joined," (of Lutheran origin, though it appears also in the rites of Soissons and Milan) was also introduced in the First Book. The third part of the Solemnization of Holy Matrimony, the Communion, is now unfortunately deferred, as a rule, till a later day. Until it was relaxed in 1661, the rubric ordered

that "The new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy Communion." The Wedding Breakfast is a survival of the time when the married couple communicated, fasting, at the marriage service.



## ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

In the Early Church the sick were visited for Communion with the reserved Sacrament, for prayer, and for unction or the laying on of hands. Our present order follows closely the lines of the *Visitatio Infirmorum* in the Sarum Manual, with two important exceptions; the apostolic rite of unction was left out of the Second Prayer Book, and has not yet been formally restored, though it is allowed and practised; and the direction for reserving the Sacrament, a custom that can be traced back to the sub-apostolic era (p. 186), was omitted at the same time. On the other hand, a special form for celebrating the Eucharistic service in the sick-room was inserted in the First Prayer Book: in the Second Book this was altered, and no provision made for shortening the full service; but in 1661 this impracticable defect was made good. Communicating the sick and infirm with the reserved Sacrament (in both kinds) was traditional in Scotland even in the days when the surplice had not been revived there, and has been the long-standing custom in most of the old native Scottish congregations: the anointing of the sick was also revived by some Scottish bishops in the 18th century, and has there continued since.

## THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

We know that as far back as evidence can be found on the customs of the Primitive Church—that is, in the paintings on the walls of the Catacombs from before the year 100—the bodies of Christians were laid to rest with prayer and the celebration of the Holy Communion;

and that afterwards memorial services for the departed were held, at which the Communion was also celebrated. The many chapels scattered among these vast subterranean corridors were not, as used to be supposed, concealed places for ordinary worship : they were, on the contrary, open to public knowledge and protected by the pagan authorities (since ancient Roman law had profound respect for everything connected with the dead) ; and they were made for what a later age called requiem services, and not for the normal public worship of the Church, which indeed required far larger places.

On this page we give a 2nd century symbolic picture of the Eucharist from the Catacombs : the celebrant, clad in the distinctive pallium, stands with hands outstretched over a tripod, on the other side of which stands the *orans*, a figure in the primitive attitude of prayer (1 *Tim.* 2. 8), which always in these early centuries represents the soul of the departed person. The Agapé or Love Feast (pp. 29, 178) was also a feature of these rites, and both Agapé and Eucharist are mentioned in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, c. 250 A.D. There is extant a 3rd century picture in the Catacombs, one part of which represents a lady with her maid buying provisions (and perhaps flowers) for the



SYMBOLIC PICTURE OF THE  
EUCHARIST.

(Latter part of the 2nd century, in the  
Catacomb of Callistus.)

Agapé in a greengrocer's shop, while the other shows the party seated round the table for the feast. A unique relic of the Agapé still exists, the hall actually built in the 1st century for the love feast. It consists of a room with a large *triclinium* showing traces of its stone bench, a smaller room, a kitchen (where wine-jars and utensils were unearthed), a well and cistern : this room forms the vestibule to the Catacomb of St. Domitilla, only in part underground, and it originally had an ornamental façade upon the high road. The chapels for service within the Catacombs are many in number : a restoration of a somewhat late (4th century) example from the Catacomb of Callistus is given on p. 27.

The early Sacramentaries, which are the earliest of extant service-books, give the whole cycle of services for the sick, the dying, and the departed ; and from these come the tender and beautiful Mediaeval services. As early as 688 we find our own Anglo-Saxon customs, borrowed from those of Old Rome, in a description of that Archbishop Theodore to whom England owes so much. The dead, he says, were taken by monks or religious men to the church, where Masses were said for them, and then they were taken with chanting to their graves, to be there buried with prayer for them.

In the Middle Ages a special form of the Divine Service for the departed grew up, and from this we have the word "dirge" : the Mattins (with Lauds) was called the *Dirige* or Dirge, from the words of the opening Antiphon, "Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam" (from *Ps.* 5. 8, "Make thy way plain before my face") ; the Evensong, for the same reason was called the *Placebo*, the opening Antiphon being "Placebo



Domino in regione vivorum" (from *Ps.* 116. 9, "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living"). These were extensively used in a general way, as well as at funerals.

The long exercise of prayer began at the sick-bed, with psalms and litanies, culminating at the moment of departure in the beautiful and pathetic farewell, beginning, "Go forth, Christian soul, from this world, in the name of the Almighty Father who created thee," and ending with petitions that God would receive his servant in his goodly habitation of light. After death, the

Commendation was said, a service of Antiphons, Psalms, and Collects, wherein the pleading refrain, "May Christ



#### THE BEGINNING OF THE PLACEBO.

(From a 15th century Book of Hours.)

(After *Placebo antiphona* follow the opening words of Psalm 116, *Dilexi quoniam*—"I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer." The miniature shows a priest in surplice and cope standing by the herse, which is covered with a pall decorated with a cross. A clerk holds his almuze. Behind the herse are two figures in mourning cloaks and hoods.)





## FURNISHES A MONASTIC CHURCH

Practically all groups have a link of their

who called thee receive thee, and may the angels lead thee into Abraham's bosom," was mingled with the triumphant psalm, "When Israel came out of Egypt," and with the hope that the soul of the departed might be crowned together with the martyrs, and gain the joy of God amid the radiant jewels of Paradise.

The body, covered with a pall of bright colours, was carried to church with the singing of psalms, and placed in the standing frame of wood or iron, called the hearse, surrounded by tapers. Then the *Placebo* and Dirge were said or sung, leading up to the Requiem Mass, so called from the Introit which opens the service, "Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis" ("Rest eternal grant to them, O Lord, and may light perpetual shine upon them). There was now a second and shorter Commendation, and the hearse was censed and sprinkled. Then the burial service itself began. After an antiphon, *Kyrie*, and prayers, the body was carried to the grave, while "When Israel came out of Egypt" was again sung, followed, if the procession was long, by the psalm, "Unto thee, O Lord, will I lift up my soul." As the grave was opened the choir sang the lovely antiphon, "Open unto me the gates of righteousness, and I will enter into them and give thanks unto the Lord : this is the gate of the Lord ; the righteous shall enter into it," with the Psalm 118, "O give thanks unto the Lord."

The grave was then blessed, sprinkled, and censed, and the body laid to rest, while the company sang the psalm, "Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks : so longeth my soul after thee, O God," thus joining in spirit, as throughout all the services, with their departed

friend. After the psalm, "Lord, remember David," the body was sprinkled with holy water, and the priest scattered earth on it in the form of a cross with a form beginning, "I commend thy soul to God." Then were more prayers, and the three triumphant psalms of Lauds—"O praise the Lord of heaven," "O sing unto the Lord a new song," and "O praise God in his holiness"; there followed the *Benedictus* (the Antiphon to which, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," we still retain), and the penitential *Miserere*, with a few last prayers of love and hope.



A BURIAL IN THE 15TH CENTURY.

(The body is being carried out of the church by men in mourners' cloaks and hoods, preceded by one carrying a lighted torch. A priest in surplice and cope approaches the grave carrying a processional crucifix; he is followed by two clerks, one wearing a winged rochet, and the other a high cap with his surplice or rochet. A typical wooden grave-cross will be noticed in front of the kneeling woman on the left.)



Afterwards, and especially on the "month's mind" and the anniversary, the *Placebo* and Dirge were said, and Requiem Eucharists celebrated. Thus, in the wonderful beauty of their churches, and in the green churchyards, as yet unchilled by the gleam of polished gravestones and glass flowers, did our forefathers carry out the last offices they could render to their friends, with ancient rites of comfort and cheer and help, in the true spirit of the Christian Good News.

The havoc of the Reformation was terrible indeed. We cannot here discuss its causes. Certain it is that a morbid religion of fear had grown up at the close of the Middle Ages after the Black Death, to which the outward ceremonial of Roman Catholic countries abroad still bears witness with its decorations of skulls and cross-bones. Certain it is that, in the place of the paradise of flowers, which the pictures in the Catacombs always portray, and of which the first Latin Christian poet sings, there had grown up a "Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory," which made it a place of fire, differing from that of Hell only in not being eternal: and with this there came a feverish desire for innumerable Masses, such as only the rich could afford, which is luridly illustrated in the Will of Henry VIII. Some reaction was inevitable. Unfortunately it took at first in most men's minds the form of Calvinism, which is—in the literal sense of the word—*infinitely* worse than even the late Mediaeval doctrine concerning Purgatory. It was no use praying for the damned.

Amid the hideous and horrible funeral customs of the Georgian era, men thought with relief of the Prayer Book Burial Service, and called it exquisite and



incomparable. It does indeed contain a few fragments from the antiphons of the old service; and even the ruins of such an edifice must be lovely. But this is all that can be said.

In the First Prayer Book Cranmer undertook the simplification of the Mediaeval rites, which were overlong by virtue of their many repetitions; and he produced one of his best pieces of work in the new Order for the Burial of the Dead, which is a real simplification, at once primitive and traditional, consisting as it does of the four essential parts of the old rite—(1) The Procession; (2) The Burial; (3) The Office of the Dead, to be said either after or before the Burial; (4) The Requiem Eucharist. The Second Book produced a mere stupid confusion, left no psalms at all, and of course no Eucharist, and did not even provide that any part of the service should be said in Church. But even this was too much for the Puritans, who actually had no service whatever. When in the 18th century poor Jamie Fleeman “the Laird of Udny’s Fool” was wounded and dying, he managed to crawl over the hills of East Aberdeenshire to Longside where he knew there was an Episcopal church; and when they found him, he said, “Dinna bury me like a beast!”—alluding to what was the universal Presbyterian practice until our own day. The Fifth Book restored something of what the Second had thrown away, but the psalms it gave us were new; and the second Antiphon, being conformed to the Authorized Version of the Bible, introduced the horrid reference to worms, which we might have been spared at such a time, and which mercifully is untrue in fact, as well as a mistranslation.

The translators of the Authorized Version seem to have borrowed the worms from the Geneva Bible; for they are not in the original Hebrew, nor in the Vulgate.

The English Church has, however, never been confined to its meagre Burial Service. The Latin Prayer Book of 1560 gave us with authority a Collect, Epistle and Gospel for a Requiem Eucharist, and a Commendation Service for founders and benefactors; and the Elizabethan Primer gave us both the *Placebo* and the *Dirge*. The Canons of 1604 provide, with the authority of Convocation, the beautiful commemoration of the departed in the Bidding Prayer. Many commemorative services have been put forth since, including those (drawn up by the Archbishops and issued by the King in Council) for Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, the latter of which contains a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Eucharist, and has been reprinted by the publishers of this History. Queen Victoria herself did much to restore the Christian memory of the dead and prayer for them; and it is through her that the *Kontakion* for the Departed in the books of the Greek and Russian Churches has now become with us a regular part of the service on official occasions,—in the translation given in the *English Hymnal*, where several other Christian hymns for the departed are also brought into common use, including a significant one by the writer whom we have already mentioned as the earliest Christian poet in the Latin tongue, Prudentius.

#### THE CHURCHING OF WOMEN

This short service is very like that in the Sarum Manual, and the rite itself is mentioned in the 6th

century by St. Augustine of Canterbury. The principal changes are :—The addition of the opening sentence ; the change of psalms (which were 120 and 128 in the Sarum rite, 121 in the First and Second Prayer Books,



### THE COMMINATION.

(From a Print by HOLLAR, c. 1670.)

(The priest kneels in his cassock and surplice at the Litany-desk, between the congregation and the altar; a book lies on the altar eastward.)

and now 116 and 127—all being appropriate in various ways); the addition, in the last revision, of the words, "We give thee humble thanks," to emphasize the fact that the service is one of thanksgiving. The words, "decently apparelled," in the first rubric, were also added in 1661, but they only carry on the old usage ; for they were inserted to ensure the woman wearing the customary white veil, which the Puritans had tried to give up, and which had been enforced by law (although there was then no rubric) in the reigns of James I and Charles I. The disregard of this rule has in modern times dimmed the beauty of the service, which needs the emphasis of a simple ceremonial, such as the white veil, the carrying of a light by the woman, and her being supported by two matrons—customs which seem to have been all continued after the Reformation.

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## A COMMINATION

The Communion is a substitute for the Reconciliation of Penitents on Ash Wednesday, which is first described in the Gelasian Sacramentary of the 7th or 8th century. The 51st Psalm, the suffrages, and the two collects following, are taken from the Mediaeval form, which dates from about the 12th century, and applied not to penitents specially, but to all the faithful, upon whose heads ashes were placed, up till the Reformation. The rest, which forms the opening part of the Communion, was added in the First Prayer Book. The service is appointed to be said immediately after the Litany, that is to say, before the Ash Wednesday Communion.

## FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA

These were added in the last Revision of 1661. They are not complete services, but are rather poor additions to the ordinary offices of the Prayer Book.

## THE ORDINAL

We read in the New Testament that the Early Church ordained ministers by the laying on of hands : the seven deacons were thus ordained, after they had been duly elected (*Acts vi*), by prayer and the imposition of hands ; and St. Paul speaks to St. Timothy of the gift, "which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" ("presbyter" and "priest" being different forms of the same word) ; and again he exhorts him to "stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my



hands" (1 *Tim.* iv. 14; 2 *Tim.* i. 6). The 3rd century *Canons of Hippolytus*, and the 4th century *Testamentum Domini*, show that the laying on of hands with appropriate prayer was used for bishops, priests, and deacons; mention is also made of minor orders—subdeacons and readers; but these were not ordained by the imposition of hands in the West, nor as yet generally in the East. In the Old Roman services of the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, ordination still consisted entirely of prayer, accompanied by the imposition of hands. These two things, then, are the essential features of the rite.

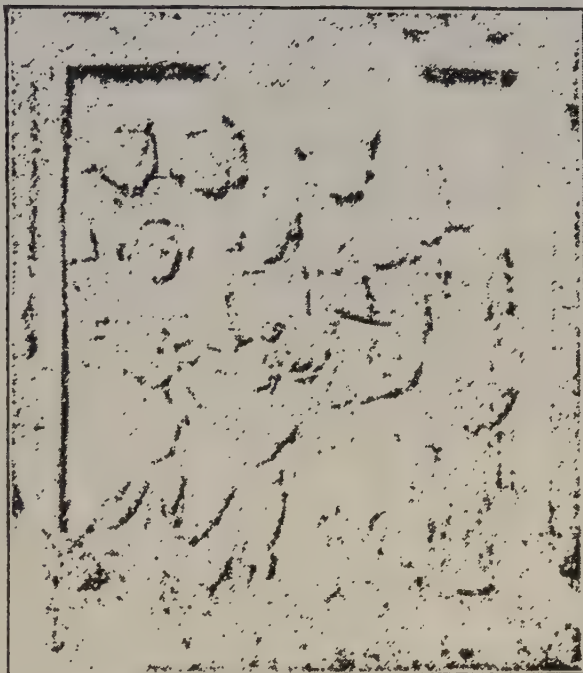


"TRADITION OF THE INSTRUMENTS" TO A SUBDEACON, 1520.

(The Bishop delivers an empty chalice and paten to the Subdeacon, who kneels before him in his albe, a tunicle over his arm. In the background a candidate receives the cruets of wine and water from the Archdeacon, who wears a surplice. Another candidate receives a ewer, bason, and towel.)

There were in Rome at this time, and had been for three centuries, five minor orders of ministers (making

eight orders in all), viz. subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers : these were appointed by giving them some article required in their ministrations ; thus the acolyte was given a linen bag (the receptacle then used for the Sacrament), and the subdeacon a chalice (or a chalice and paten, with a water-cruet and napkin)—his business being to keep these things in order. This was called the "Tradition [i.e. delivery] of the Instruments." The ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons was sharply distinguished from such admission to the minor orders by consisting of the laying on of hands. To this was added in the



ORDINATION, 15TH CENTURY.

(Panel of the font at Gresham.)

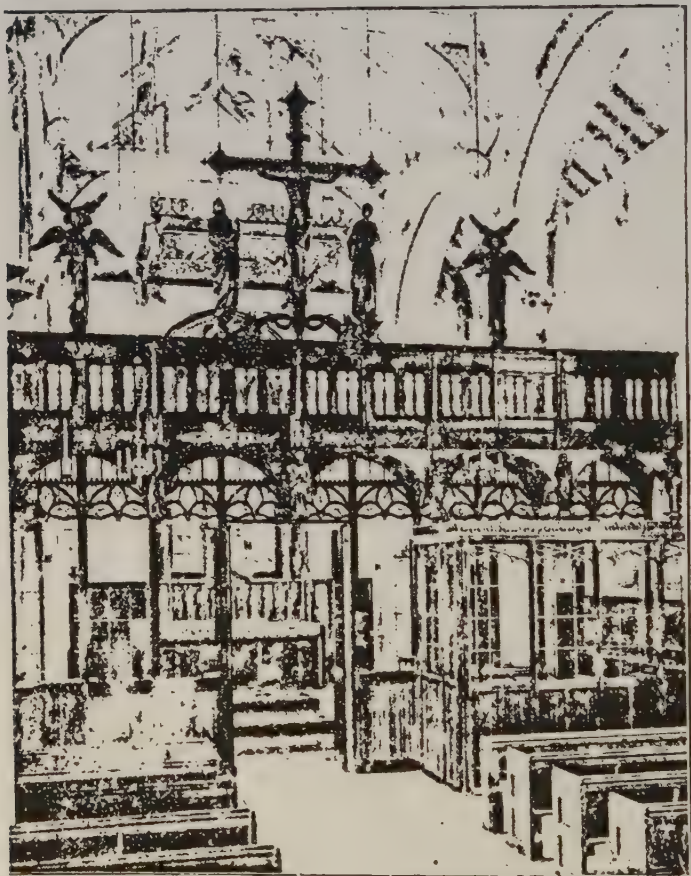
(The bishop wears a hood over his rochet, and a mitre. Before him kneel two newly-ordained priests in chasubles. A clerk holds a book in front of him, and behind him is the thurifer in an albe, holding a censer.)

Gallican use the anointing of the priest's hands, after his ordination. In the Missal of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter (†1072), we find another ceremony, the blessing and giving of vestments—stoles for the deacons and chasubles to the priests—the chasuble, originally a garment common to lay-folk and clergy, being by this time mainly used

by priests, though even at the present day it is still worn by deacons at certain seasons such as Lent.

In the 11th century a curious change began. The

“Tradition of the Instruments,” which had been the way of appointing to the *minor* orders, and the distinctive mark of this appointment, came to be added to the three chief orders: to the priest was given a chalice with wine and a paten with a wafer; to the deacon, a Gospel-book. In an uncritical



ST. GILES' BY SALISBURY.

(A church which illustrates the direction added to the Prayer Book in 1552, that “the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.”)

age this “Tradition”—being a picturesque and striking ceremony—soon came to be looked upon as essential; and by 1439 we find a pope asserting that it is the



“matter,” i.e. the outward sign, of the sacrament of Holy Order. This came to be accepted in the Roman Communion ; and thus it was that some Roman Catholics have thought that Anglican Orders were not valid, because this form of the “Tradition of the Instruments” was dropped in the Second Prayer Book. In 1896 the Pope of Rome found fault with our form of ordination to the priesthood, because the first four English Ordinals (1550, &c.) did not use the word “priest” in immediate connexion with the imposition of hands. As a matter of fact, the services in all our five English Ordinals are called “The Ordering of Deacons,” “The Ordering of Priests,” and “The Consecration of Bishops” ; and the candidates in all our ordinals are presented “to be admitted Deacons,” “to the Order of Priesthood,” and “to be consecrated bishop.” The Pope’s objection was thus rather thin, since the words were plainly used, and the intention (which he also called in question) perfectly definite. But the question was finally settled by the discovery only three years later, in Bishop Serapion’s Sacramentary, that he in the middle of the 4th century did not use the word “priest” at all.

The first English Ordinal was not issued till 1550, the Sarum forms remaining in force for a year under the First Prayer Book. Cranmer and his colleagues acted wisely in reforming the confusion which had grown up in the Middle Ages ; for in the Sarum books the primitive and Catholic ordination of a priest by laying on of hands—which we will call (1)—was followed by three additional ordinations, invented in the Middle



Ages ; (2) Anointing of the hands, (3) Tradition of the Instruments ; and (4) a Second laying on of hands, with the words "Receive the Holy Ghost," etc. In the Roman Use this is made worse ; for the original imposition (no. 1) has actually disappeared, the bishop merely



"TRADITION" OR DELIVERY OF THE GOSPEL TO A  
NEWLY-CONSECRATED BISHOP, 1520.

(The bishop kneels in his chasuble. Behind him are four priests in surplices.  
Behind the three consecrating bishops are the altar and reredos.)

extending his hands, and only laying them on the candidate at no. 4.

The Reformers brought back the rites to the Scriptural method, which was also that of Rome until the Middle Ages, by restoring to its proper place the imposition of hands ; for this end they gave up the anointing (2), altered (3), and added the form of (4) to the original rite, (1). Otherwise they kept to the lines

of the Sarum Pontifical, retaining the Presentation of the Candidates, Litany, Instruction, Bidding, *Veni Creator*, and Holy Communion. They retained also, in deference to current ideas, a reduced form of the Tradition of the Instruments, the First Ordinal directing the bishop to give to each priest a Bible in one hand, and "the Chalice or cup with the bread" in the other. In the Second Prayer Book the chalice and paten were omitted ; and the giving of the Bible thus remains with us to-day, a ceremony eloquent not only for its own significance, but also for its witness as a relic of that other Tradition which once took a larger place in men's minds than the way of ordination set forth in God's Word.

## A FEW LANDMARKS IN THE HISTORY OF WORSHIP

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A.D.	EMPERORS.
Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.	B.C. 27—A.D. 14 Augustus.
29 Holy Communion instituted by Christ. <sup>1</sup>	A.D. 14—37 Tiberius.
29 Holy Baptism instituted by Christ. <sup>2</sup>	„
29 The “Breaking of the Bread,” or Holy Communion, among the Apostles. <sup>3</sup>	„
29 Other Prayers at fixed hours. <sup>4</sup>	„
29 Baptism and Confirmation among the Apostles. <sup>5</sup>	„
c. 57 St. Paul writes to the Corinthians about the Communion. <sup>6</sup>	54—68 Nero.

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<sup>1</sup> “Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins” (St. Matt. xxvi. 26–28; cf. the other accounts of the Institution in St. Mark xiv. 22–24; St. Luke xxii. 19, 20; and 1 Cor. xi. 23–26 [R.V.]).

<sup>2</sup> “Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost” (St. Matt. xxviii. 19 [R.V.]).

<sup>3</sup> “And they continued stedfastly in the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers” (Acts ii. 42; cf. Acts ii. 46, and xx. 7; “upon the first day of the week”).

<sup>4</sup> “Now Peter and John were going up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour” (Acts iii. 1; cf. Acts ii. 1, 15; x. 2, 9, 30).

<sup>5</sup> “They were baptized, both men and women. . . . Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost” (Acts viii. 12–17; cf. Acts i. 38, 41; Acts xix. 1–7).

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. x. 16–21; 1 Cor. xi. 18–30.

A.D.	A.D.	EMPERORS.
c. 112 Pliny's letter about Christian worship.	98-117	Trajan.
c. 150 St. Justin Martyr's description of Baptism and Communion.	138-161	Antoninus Pius.
200 Christianity already established in Great Britain.	193-211	Septimus Severus.
c. 250 Canons of Hippolytus.		
313 The Peace of the Church. Toleration accorded to Christians.	306-337	Constantine, First Christian Emperor.
314 Three British Bishops attend Council of Arles.		
325 Council of Nicæa ( <i>Nicene Creed</i> ). S. Athanasius (Bishop of Alexandria, 326).		
c. 350 Sacramentary of Serapion.		
374 St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, writes hymns.	379-395	Theodosius.
397 St. Ninian in Scotland.		
398 St. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, introduces Litanies or out-door processions.		Arcadius, Emperor of the East, Honorius of the West.
c. 450 St. David and St. Patrick.		
c. 470 Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (Rogation Litanies).		
500-600 Leonine Sacramentary.		
563 St. Columba leaves Ireland and lands in Iona (Gallican use).		
596 Conversion of Kent begun by St. Augustine, First Bishop of Canterbury (Roman use).		Æthelbert, King of Kent.
c. 680 <i>Athanasian Creed</i> .		
c. 735 The Gospels and Psalms translated into English by the Venerable Bede and others.		
„ Gelasian Sacramentary.		
c. 800 Gregorian Sacramentary.		



A.D.	MONARCHS.
c. 900 The Psalter in Anglo-Saxon, the first fifty Psalms attributed, on fair evidence, to Alfred the Great.	Alfred, King of Wessex.
Most of our cathedrals and old parish churches were built between 1066 (William the Conqueror) and c. 1500 (Henry VII).	
A.D.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.
1078 St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury.	William the Conqueror.
1217 Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury: Sarum Use written down.	Henry III.
1380 Wyclif. The Bible in Middle English.	Richard II.
1476 Caxton starts printing in England.	Edward IV.
1533 English Church rejects Papal Supremacy.	Henry VIII.
1535 Coverdale's Bible.	"
1539 The Great Bible.	"
1543 Lessons in English.	"
1544 The Litany in English.	"
1548 The "Order of the Communion" in English.	Edward VI.
" First Metrical Psalter.	"
1549 The First English Prayer Book.	"
1550 First English Ordinal.	"
1552 The Second English Prayer Book.	"
1559 The Third English Prayer Book.	Elizabeth.
1604 The Fourth English Prayer Book.	James I.
1611 The Authorized Version of the Bible.	"
1637 The Scottish Prayer Book.	"
1662 The Present English Prayer Book.	Charles II.
1789 The American Prayer Book.	(George Washington, President U.S.A.)
1871 The Present English Lectionary.	Victoria.
1877 The Irish Prayer Book.	"
1912 New Scottish Prayer Book.	George V.

## NOTES ON THE FAMILY TREE OF THE PRAYER BOOK

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1.—The Roman liturgy in the form in which we know it at present is unlike the other great liturgies of the Church, and stands very much by itself: the Canon seems to be in a state of dislocation. The earliest Christians in Italy may have used a Greek rite which is now lost.

2.—In varying degrees some other modern rites—the Ambrosian or Milanese, used in the north of Italy by over a million people, and the Mozarabic rite which still survives in certain Spanish churches—partake more or less of Gallican character, though with more or less Roman intermixture.

3.—Although Mediaeval non-Roman Western services belonged to the Roman family of liturgies, the ceremonies used with them, and the way they were carried out were as a rule Gallican (French, Spanish, English, etc.) and not Roman.

4.—Besides the Rites of Milan, etc., mentioned above, there are other Christians of the Roman obedience who do not use the Roman missal, viz., those of the older religious orders, Carthusian, Cistercian, Dominican, etc.

5.—The old Latin books of Sarum use were restored for a few years under Queen Mary, 1553–1558.

6.—These Orthodox Eastern liturgies are translated into many languages, and used all over Eastern Christendom: they seem in many respects more primitive in character than the Western rites.

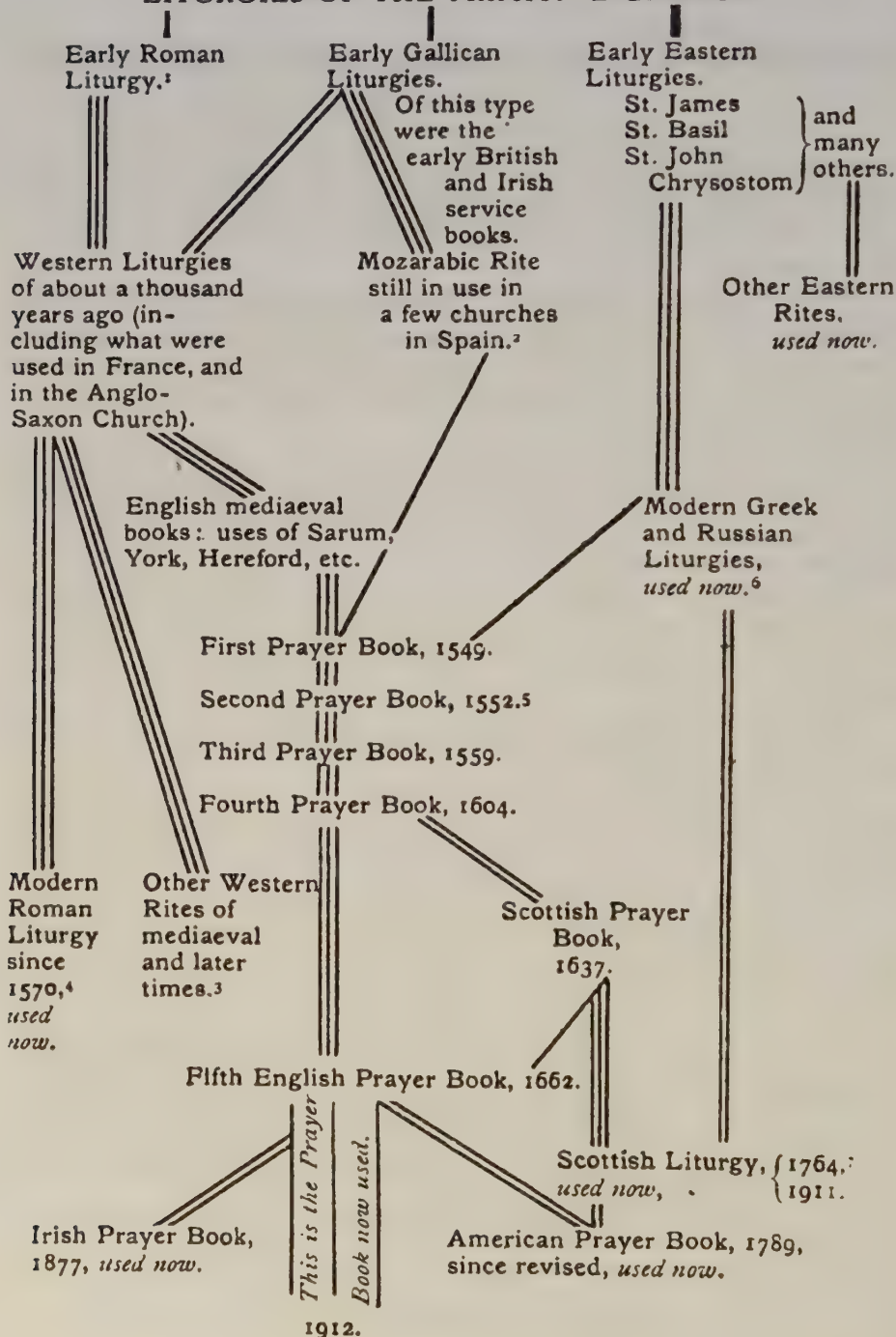
7.—It will be seen from this table that the modern Scottish liturgy is more immediately connected with those of primitive times than any other Anglican service.

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This diagram shows very roughly the origin and relationship of the Prayer Book services and of other service books used elsewhere. The thicker lines show a very close connection or immediate descent, the thinner lines a less close connection, or the descent of a part only.

# THE FAMILY TREE OF THE PRAYER BOOK

## LITURGIES OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH



1912.





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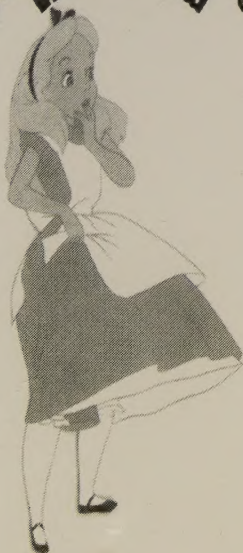
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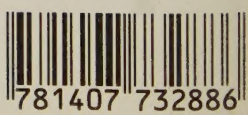
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